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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—Another series of reports from the Governor of the British Colonial possessions has just been presented to Parliament. We defer an extended notice of their contents, because many statements in them are not to be submitted without comment. But while, as regards Jamaica, Governor Darling—who is by no means an unprejudiced authority—makes some disparaging allegations, the following testimony to the advantages of emancipation is worthy of record. He says: "There can be no doubt, in fact, that an independent, respectable, and, I believe, trustworthy middle-class is rapidly forming; and I assert my conviction, that if the real object of emancipation was to place the freedman in such a position that he might work out his own advancement in the social scale, and prove his capacity for the full and rational enjoyment of personal independence, secured by constitutional liberty, Jamaica will afford more instances of such gratifying results than any other land in which African Slavery once existed."

His Excellency, Francis Hincks, Governor of Barbados, has been promoted to the Governorship of British Guiana, *vice* P. Wodehouse, Esq., who goes to the Cape of Good Hope. We consider this change as a most hopeful one for the colony which is to receive the services of Mr. Hincks, and shall look forward to great results from his administration.

On Thursday evening, the 1st ult., a public meeting, in commemoration of the twenty-seventh anniversary of negro emancipation, was held in Spafields chapel, under the auspices of the *London Emancipation Committee*. The chair was occupied by Mr. Wilcocks, who was supported by Mr. G. Thompson, the Rev. Dr. Hewlett, Mr. Washington Wilks, Mr. W. Farmer, Mr. D. M'Donnell, Mr. J. A. Horner, and Mr. Chesson. John Anderson, the fugitive slave, also attended. Letters expressing sympathy with the objects of the meeting were read from T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P., General T. P. Thompson, and General Dupuy, the Haytian Minister. The speakers were, the Chairman, the Rev. W. H. Bonner, the Rev. Dr. Hewlett, Mr. G. Thompson, Mr. Washington Wilks, and Mr. E. Burr. Resolutions declaring the success of emancipation, and protesting against the annexation of San Domingo to Spain, were duly put and carried.

AFRICA.—The last news from the West Coast shews that the slave-trade is rapidly reviving, and that the illegal traffic is carried on chiefly under the American flag. At Porto Novo matters continued unsettled; and the *West-African Herald* gives a description of the battle of Porto Novo, which, if true, reflects disgrace upon the representatives of British power and authority. We give the description in another column.

By a despatch received from Acting-Consul, M'Crosky, dated July 2nd, we learn that the King of Porto Novo has concluded a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, on

the 19th of June. A similar treaty had been concluded with the chiefs of Badagry.

UNITED STATES.—President Lincoln has been authorized by Congress to raise a loan of 500,000,000 dollars for carrying on the war, and also to call out a million of men. The interest of this enormous debt, together with the current expenditure extraordinary, is to be met by a new system of taxation on articles of consumption; quite a new feature in American finances. A considerable portion of the loan had been taken up.

It is stated, that prior to the outbreak of the war, the South owed the North upwards of 200,000,000 of dollars, nearly the whole which has been repudiated, and of which scarcely a fraction is likely ever to be paid.

The Hon. C. Sumner has introduced Bills in the Senate for the confiscation of property in the rebel States. An amendment by Mr. Trumbull, providing that any person held to service, employed in any way in aiding the rebellion, shall be forfeited, was agreed to, and the Bill was passed. Mr. Sumner had also presented a petition for the abolition of Slavery in the Southern States, remunerating such owners of slaves as may be impoverished by doing so, from the treasury of the United States.

Mr. Pomeroy, of Kansas, had introduced a Bill for the suppression of the slaveholders' rebellion, which enacts that Slavery be immediately abolished by proclamation, and the army officers directed to protect, and authorized to use, the emancipated slaves.

Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, had submitted the following resolution to the House of Representatives:

"Resolved, That the civil war has been forced on us by the Disunionists of the Southern States now in rebellion against the Government of the United States; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of passion and resentment, will recollect only their duty to their country; that the war is not waged for conquest or subjugation, or interfering with the rights or established institutions of these States, but to maintain and defend the supremacy of the Constitution, with the rights and equality under it unimpaired; that as soon as these objects shall be accomplished, the war ought to cease."

The first branch of the resolution, "that the present deplorable civil war was forced on the country by the Disunionists of the Southern States, now in revolt against the Constitutional Government in arms around the Capitol," was adopted — yeas, 121; nays, 0. The remainder of the resolution was adopted, 117 against 2.

Congress finished its special session on the 6th of August, and adjourned until the first Monday in December. Previous to the adjournment, both Houses passed a Bill increasing the pay of the soldiers and sailors

by two dollars a month, and the Senate in executive session confirmed a large number of appointments in both services.

The President approved all the Bills which passed both Houses, but yielded a very reluctant approval of the Bill providing for the confiscation of property used for rebellious purposes.

The *Boston Journal* of the 7th instant gives the following *resumé* of the session:

"The extra session of the new Congress which has just closed has been one of great activity, and, on the whole, very satisfactory to loyal citizens throughout the country. Before it began there was much talk about the offer of compromise with the rebels, which would be proposed, and much speculation as to their fate. But all propositions of that nature have proved of as little consequence as the dry leaves falling on the surface of a great river. They have been borne away without creating hardly a ripple of excitement. The same may be said of the treasonable speeches of Messrs. Breckenridge and Powell in the Senate, and of Burnett, Vallandigham, and May in the House. Not more than five and twenty members in both Houses have followed the lead of these men, while some of the most ardent Union speeches have come from Southern men, like Johnson of Tennessee, Carlisle of Virginia, and Thomas of Maryland. The venerable Crittenden, whom rumour had designated as one of the proposers of a compromise, disowned the character, and has acted throughout as a loyal and patriotic statesman.

"All the measures adopted by the Congress for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and the rescue of the country, have not been published, but the following are some of the most prominent Acts, viz. a new Collection Bill, authorising the President, where the duties cannot be collected in the usual manner, to direct the custom-house to be established in any secure place within the district, or on board a vessel near the coast, or to close the ports of entry altogether; a Bill to authorise the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow, within a year, 250,000,000 dollars, to negotiate, if he pleases, 100,000,000 dollars in foreign countries, and to issue treasury notes in a specified manner; a Bill authorising the employment of 500,000 volunteers for three years, whose pay is two dollars beyond the old rates, and to increase the regular army of the United States; a Bill assessing a direct tax on the people of the several States; a new Tariff Bill, altering many of the rates of duty, and levying duties on tea, sugar, and coffee; a Bill regulating the issue of treasury notes, and repealing certain sections of the Sub-Treasury Act; and a Bill confiscating rebel property. With reference to the last Bill, which is said to have been approved by the President with great reluctance, we do not know what was its final shape, except that it contained the clause that, 'Whenever, during the present insurrection, any person held to service or labour shall be employed in military or naval service, intrenchments, &c., the person to whom such labour or service is due shall forfeit his

claim to the same.' Among other features of the session were the adoption of Senator Johnson's resolution, defining the objects of the war, and the confirmation of an immense number of army appointments."

A great battle had been fought on the 21st of July, at Bull's Run, Manassas Junction, Virginia, between the rebel forces under President Jefferson Davis, and the Constitutionals under General M'Dowell, which had ended in the rout—through a panic—of the latter. Considerable exaggeration as to the number engaged, and those of the killed and wounded, had been circulated. General M'Dowell's official report gives the number of killed and wounded at 19 officers and 460 men, 1000 wounded and 1200 missing, on the side of the Federalists. The Secessionists captured 13 loaded provision-waggons, 3000 bushels of oats, 2500 muskets, and 8000 knapsacks and blankets.

The Confederate Congress had assembled at Richmond (Va.), and Mr. Jefferson Davis had presented his message. It is—as may be expected—an elaborate attack upon Mr. Lincoln's policy, and an attempted justification of his own. He asks for an increase of men, and of means to prosecute the war, but he encourages the Congress to believe, that any extraordinary demands will be met by the returns upon the crops, which he alleges to be the most abundant in the history of the country, and equal to two years' consumption. A loan of fifty millions of dollars had been agreed to.

WEST INDIES.—Our West-India files are still extremely imperfect. From those which come to hand, however, we cannot gather much information.

The **JAMAICA** press in discussing with considerable acerbity the case of the Rev. R. Gordon, a black native, who has been ordained to priests' orders, but who was denied preferment by the bishop, and every thing like a recognition by his brethren of the clergy. Public indignation has been aroused in the matter, and the press has taken it up warmly, with the exception of the *Colonial Standard*. There is a high principle at issue, and if the bishop and his commissaries persist in withholding claims which are demanded by justice, the discussion will be a very protracted one.

The Public Hospital and Lunatic Asylum Commission of Inquiry had adjourned its sittings to the 19th of August, when it is expected a report on the result of their labours would be prepared for presentation to the Executive.

Considerable space is given by the island press to discussing the merits of the scheme of the *Jamaica Cotton-Growing Company*. It is alleged that cotton cannot be grown at a profit upon the plan proposed. A feeling seems to prevail that the hands required for

cotton cultivation will be taken from the sugar plantations.

A Bill has been introduced into the Court of Policy, **BRITISH GUIANA**, for the regulation of the Crown lands. The Attorney-General has notified his intention of proposing a clause empowering the Government to make grants of land to free immigrants coming into the colony at their own expense, to settle in it.

The news from **HAYTI** is any thing but re-assuring. Several Spanish frigates had arrived at Port-au-Prince, and threatened to bombard it, unless the Haytian Government gave up certain Dominicans who—averse to the Spanish annexation—had taken refuge in the Haytian territory. It is also alleged that the cause of this hostile demonstration was the taking possession, by General Geffrard, of the town of Hinches. The Haytian Government had requested a delay for consideration. It is said that the mulatto party are in favour of a French protectorate, but that the blacks are loyal. Disputes arising out of the question had occurred between these two nations of the Haytian population.

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 15th.

CONSULATE AT MOZAMBIQUE.

LORD STRATHEDEN rose to move the resolution of which he had given notice: "That in the opinion of this House it is desirable, without delay, to restore the consular authority of Great Britain at Mozambique, in order to assist the Government of Portugal in repressing the slave-trade on the Eastern Coast of Africa." The consulship at Mozambique had appeared, in a paper presented to Parliament, in a list of those which were to be abolished. A consul was appointed there a few years back, when the Government of the day was headed by the present First Minister. The importance of the consular functions had been illustrated by facts. In spite of the veil that hung over the Eastern Coast of Africa, in the absence of British merchant ships or cruisers, it was not difficult to prove the existence of the slave-trade in those waters. The Government had received official information of the shipment of cargoes of slaves on this coast in the last three years, to supply the French demand for labour. The slave-trade was not only proved to exist, but it was demonstrated that it existed with a tenacity and vigour that had resisted the firmest resolutions and the strongest measures taken to repress it. In January 1859, the Emperor of the French, in a letter to Prince Napoleon, solemnly declared that the French slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa should cease to exist. That declaration had been repeated in the Emperor's manifesto, published within the present month. Too absolute reliance should not be placed on treaties the object of which was to supersede the French demand for slave-labour. It ought not, however,

to be inferred that all steps that could be taken would be nugatory. His own feeling was they would be successful if the Governor-General of Mozambique honestly performed his duty; but if that functionary connived at the traffic, all our efforts would be inadequate to repress it. We now know a good deal of the position in which the viceroy was placed, and how necessary it was that he should have the support of a British representative. The present Governor-General of Mozambique went out to the colony in 1857, which he reached about the same time as the British consul. In fact, he had been sent out through our representations, and he received instructions, which were rather those of Great Britain than of Portugal, to prevent the slave-trade in any form. He was not neglectful of those instructions, and under his government the coast of Mozambique was guarded against French vessels. One vessel, bearing a name which was not to be mentioned without awakening bitter sentiments, was seized, with 100 slaves on board. In the negotiations which followed between France and Portugal the law was set aside, British interference was rejected, and the inhabitants of Lisbon saw French ships of war in the Tagus, their flag insulted, and their treasury despoiled, simply because the Governor-General of Mozambique had done his duty. It could not be expected that the viceroy at the Mozambique would in future take any effective action until this country re-asserted herself on that part of the world. Last year it had been contended that, do whatever we might, whether we re-established consular authority or increased the number of cruisers, all those means would be inadequate to the end. But common sense led them to look at what had happened on the Western Coast of Africa. In 1845 the Mixed Court was established at Loanda, the capital of Angola. At that time matters were pretty much what they were now at the Mozambique, but since 1850 there had been nothing that called for objection from our Government. It was admitted that the slave-trade was banished from the Portuguese dominions on the West Coast, and one of the chief causes of that change was, that this country had been represented there during the last fifteen years. This partial success, however, ought not to be presumed upon, but ought rather to incite the country to restore the consular authority at Mozambique. If it failed to do so it would not exhibit a due regard for its own honour, and would fail to repel the unjust imputations which those unfavourably disposed towards England would not fail to cast upon the national conduct. On the 8th of December 1860, the noble lord the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs instructed the British representative at Lisbon to offer a strong remonstrance, on the subject of the slave-trade to the Government of Portugal, and to call on the Cabinet at Lisbon to renew its engagements on that question. No doubt the noble lord upon the whole was justified by the facts in the course which he adopted, and his intentions were, doubtless, good; but in the absence of a consular representative of Great Britain he was scarcely justified in using such language. Few would venture to contend that Portugal was bound to incur the heavy pecuniary responsibility by which alone she could

comply with these requirements, while England shrank from taking the step of which it was the object of his motion to urge the advisability. It might fairly be contended that the Government would feel under some difficulty in sending out a representative properly qualified in all respects. He ought to be a man with experience of the Portuguese possessions, whose energies had been devoted to combating the slave-trade, and whose talents had been shewn under the different Governments which he had served. Mr. Gabriel, for fifteen years our representative on the West-African coast, was the only person whom he knew qualified to fill such an office, and it was of course doubtful whether that gentleman would be willing to make the sacrifices which its acceptance would entail upon him. The noble lord concluded by moving to resolve that, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable, without delay, to restore the consular authority of Great Britain at Mozambique, in order to assist the Government of Portugal in repressing the slave-trade on the Eastern Coast of Africa.

Lord WODEHOUSE said that the address for the appointment of a consul at Mozambique, which was adopted last year, was carried by surprise, and because the Government, not anticipating a division, had allowed their supporters to leave the House. Under those circumstances it could scarcely be regarded as having enunciated the decided opinion of the House upon this question. He should have been disposed to ask the noble lord not to press this resolution to a division, but as he knew from experience that the noble lord had far too much determination to adopt so mild a course, he should endeavour to shew their lordships that it was not desirable to agree to his proposal. His noble friend's reference to the blue-books appeared, as far as his recollection served him, to refer to a state of things which had gone by—namely, to that which existed prior to the commencement of the year 1859, when the Emperor of the French wrote the letter by which he put an end to emigration from the East Coast of Africa. It was true that that emigration did not cease immediately upon the publication of that letter, but that circumstance arose from no want of good faith on the part of the French Government, but from the distance to which instructions had to be sent and the time necessarily occupied in sending them. The emigration from the East Coast to the colony of Réunion had now so entirely ceased, that in the treaty to which his noble friend had referred it was provided that the immigration of coolies into that colony should commence at once, whereas, in the cases of Martinique and Guadeloupe, the contracts for the supply of negroes to which would not expire until the middle of 1862, the immigration was not to commence until that period. Her Majesty's Government being determined that no coolies should be sent to those colonies until the importation of negroes had entirely ceased. His noble friend's arguments, which were founded upon the state of things which existed while the disguised French slave-trade was going on, were not applicable to the present state of things. There remained, however, the ordinary slave-trade carried on between the East Coast of Africa, and the island of Cuba, and it was undoubtedly true

that that trade had recently been, to a certain extent, thriving. Some vessels had been captured by our squadron, but others had got away and carried their slaves to Cuba. His noble friend had said, that with regard to the appointment of a consul at Mozambique the Government had been undecided, and had sometimes held one language and sometimes another. That was quite natural, because that appointment involved no question of principle, and was, indeed, a matter which he thought might have been left to the discretion of the Executive Government. If the House of Lords or Commons told the Government to appoint a consul here or there, it seemed to them that they were usurping the functions of the Executive; but his noble friend had gone still further than that, for he had selected the person who was to be appointed. He had said that there was at Loanda a very able and excellent gentleman, Mr. Gabriel.

Lord STRATHEDEN was understood to explain that he had said he was afraid that Mr. Gabriel would not resign his appointment at Loanda for the sake of the less lucrative one of consul at Mozambique.

Lord WODEHOUSE did not think that he had mistaken his noble friend as to his selection. He had understood his reference to the improbability of Mr. Gabriel's accepting the appointment as a gentle hint to the members of the other House that they should raise the salary of this consul at Mozambique to the amount which Mr. Gabriel received as Commissioner at Loanda, in order to induce that gentleman—whom he was glad to have that opportunity of saying was a most able man—to accept the appointment. No doubt a great deal might be said on both sides of the question. He was not prepared to deny that any reasons might be given for the appointment of a consul. Lord Clarendon, when he appointed a consul at Mozambique, must have thought that there were such reasons, but that noble lord, who was unable to be present that evening, authorized him to say that he thought that this was a matter which might be left in the hands of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and that he did not think that the appointment of a consul would be of much use unless a large squadron were placed upon the Eastern Coast of Africa. In point of fact that was the gist of the question. If you had a large squadron on a coast, it was convenient to have agents all along the shore to give information to your naval officers. On the Western Coast there were a number of petty slave-trading chiefs, and we appointed consuls, who resided in their neighbourhood and exercised great influence over them. The case was very different in the Portuguese possessions, where no consul could think of declaring war against the King of Portugal for any thing that might occur in his district. There a consul could only remonstrate with the local authorities in a series of notes. The authorities would deny some of his statements, and promise to inquire into the others. The consul would transmit the despatches home, and thence they would be sent to Lisbon. They would be brought under the notice of the Foreign Secretary there, who would also contest the statements, and send to Mozambique for explanations. These would arrive in time, and would

pass backwards and forwards in a similar manner. What redress could be expected from such a course? The result would be only a great deal of exasperation on both sides, and a state of things would probably arise such as made the late consul throw up his appointment in disgust. It was an undoubted fact that the slave-trade existed on that coast; but it would be useless to place a consul there unless he had a squadron to support him in his efforts to repress the illegal traffic. On the East the Portuguese had an enormous extent of coast to which they claimed possession, but upon which they had only two or three isolated posts, and the consequence was that they had very little authority there. On the West, however, they had really solid possession of the territory which they claimed, and their power was accordingly more substantial. The Portuguese Government, he believed, were as much in earnest in desiring the suppression of the slave-trade on the one coast as on the other, but they had not on each equal power to carry it into effect. Dr. Livingstone at present held the consular appointment in the district referred to by the noble lord, and it was desirable to see what would be the result of his proceedings before any change was made. He hoped their lordships would shew their confidence in the Government, by leaving the matter in their hands.

Lord BROUGHAM was surprised to hear his noble friend say that the decision of the House on this subject last year was due, not to the strength of the case, or the eloquence and ability with which it was supported, but to the fact that the Government had, to use the words of the noble lord, "let their people go."

Lord WODEHOUSE said he did not use the word "people." He spoke of the "supporters" of the Government.

Lord BROUGHAM observed that, whether they were called "people," or "supporters," or "black negroes," or "white slaves" did not matter—the expression of his noble friend implied that the Government exercised an authority over them by which they could be kept back or let go at pleasure. He believed that the Portuguese Government had been most zealous in their desire to abolish the slave-trade on the East as well as on the West Coast. Great credit was due to them for their conduct on the West Coast. Instead of the 60,000 negroes who used to be carried from the West Coast to Brazil, the number had been reduced to 30,000, to 20,000, till at last the traffic had ceased entirely. The consequences had been most happy to the great continent of Africa. He had it on the authority of Mr. Gabriel, an extremely well-informed person, who had resided twenty-four years in the district of Loanda, that the improvement in that part of the country was so great that not only had the trade in innocent human creatures ceased, but the legitimate exports amounted to 260,000*l.* a-year, and the imports to 230,000*l.* These circumstances encouraged them to hope that no long period would elapse before that vast continent, which had suffered so much for the crimes and cupidity of white men and Christians, would be freed from the slave-trade. The complaint of the Portuguese was, that they had not sufficient authority on the East Coast, and that they were not supported as they ex-

pected to be by the appointment of a British Consul there. They believed that the support of such an officer would enable them to carry into effect their desire to extend to the East Coast the blessings which had attended the abolition of the slave-trade on the West. All were now agreed that that iniquitous traffic must be put down, and that they had not only a right, but a duty, to exercise in interposing their assistance and authority for that purpose in foreign countries and foreign colonies as well as in their own. He hoped and trusted that, by God's good providence, it would before very long be exterminated; but that could only be accomplished gradually and by peaceable means. Whoever was an enemy to the negro, whoever was a friend to the slave-trade, would advocate hasty, rash, and violent measures, and would incite a negro insurrection, which would be the greatest curse that could happen, not only to the slaves themselves, but to the whole community of which they formed a part. The greatest of all mistakes had been committed in some parts of North America in imagining that those who were opposed to violence and in favour of lawful and prudent measures were therefore not hostile to Slavery. His belief was that those who, like himself, held those principles were the most effectual enemies of that abominable institution.

Earl GRANVILLE said the noble and learned lord had rather misunderstood what had fallen from his noble friend the Under-Secretary of State. It was not that any moral or physical compulsion was used, because such compulsion could not be used, to induce the supporters of the Government to withdraw; but, in point of fact, the members of the House retired under the belief that no division would take place. Some of those, he durst say, were of opinion that it was a subject for the Executive Government, and not for the House; while others, like the Earl of Clarendon and the Earl of Malmesbury, went away because they were opposed to the appointment of a Consul. He did not rise to reopen the question. The noble and learned lord in bringing forward this motion had stated all the points in its favour, and his noble friend the Under-Secretary had shewn what objections there were to the proposal. He thought that this House should not set an example to the other House of considering questions peculiarly belonging to the Executive Government, and he therefore appealed to the noble lord not to press his motion to a division.

Lord BROUGHAM said he feared the supporters of the Government belonged to a class of persons described by Mr. Ferguson, a Scotch gentleman, when he said, "I have often heard speeches which changed my opinion, but I have never heard one which changed my vote."

The Bishop of OXFORD said he ventured last year to counsel his noble friend to persevere in his motion, and he was induced to give him the contrary advice to-night. They were in all respects very differently circumstanced this year from last; because, if by chance they had a superiority in argument, they would certainly not have a superiority in votes. That was not, however, the reason which induced him to advise his noble friend to withdraw his motion, as he

should himself rejoice to have the opportunity of recording his opinion, no matter how small might be the minority. The ground upon which he advised his noble friend not to divide was this—that he could not but think that the appointment of a Consul to the East Coast was in some degree damaged by this House venturing to give an opinion to the Executive Government which the Executive Government did not wish to receive; and that the broad principle of teaching this House a lesson not to interfere, but to trust implicitly in the Executive, might have prevented the Executive Government doing for a whole year what the Executive Government might perhaps have done if they had received no such intimation. Many of the leading members of the present Government had shewn distinctly that they had at heart the suppression of the oppressive slave-trade. He felt bound to do justice to the noble lord at the head of the Government, and to say that through a long career the noble lord had uniformly maintained a noble and honest policy on this subject. He would, therefore, leave the Government free to act on what he believed would be their nobler inspirations, when they felt that the House had not interposed with a vote upon a matter which should be left to the Executive Government. As far as the arguments went, he did not think that the laborious and detailed speech of the noble lord who moved the resolution had been answered by the noble lord the Under-Secretary. The argument used by the Under-Secretary was, that a great deal had been done to stop the accursed slave-trade which had been carried on for some time on the Eastern Coast; and that their lordships might conclude from what had been done that a far more important step than the appointment of a Consul would be taken, if necessary, to accomplish their object. But he would remind his noble friend that the question was not what was most important to be done. He would say to him, "This you ought to have done, but you ought not, therefore, to have left the other undone." If the appointment of a Consular power on the Eastern Coast would materially help the great work which by other means the Government had been labouring to accomplish, why, because they had used other means, should those means, though minor and less important, be neglected? It was said that the Consul would be of no great value unless he was supported by a large squadron. There was not a shadow of argument in support of that simple assertion; and, so far from believing in the truth of it, he believed that the smallest physical support to the Consul—sufficient only to preserve him from personal violence—was all that was needed to make his interference perfectly effective. He begged their lordships to observe that there was a great contradiction in the argument used by his noble friend. His noble friend said, that on the Western Coast the Consul's influence was of great importance, because there the trade was carried on by small independent slave-trading chieftains; but on the Eastern Coast his efficacy would be very little, because there he would have to do with the Portuguese and French Governments, and not with slave-trading chiefs whom he could coerce. But then, having

shewn the strength of the Portuguese on that side and the absence of slave-trading chiefs, his noble friend went on to say that the Portuguese had no strength there, and that the trade was carried on by the Sultan, whose name appeared in the papers as an independent power. The argument appeared to him to be entirely self-destructive. If the Portuguese were so weak that independent Sultans carried on the trade, the earlier part of his noble friend's speech, that the Consul would be of no efficacy, because his influence would have to be brought to bear on a great power, and not on independent chiefs, was altogether destroyed. But there was another ground which he begged the Government to consider; there was a power greater than the power of squadrons, and that power they wanted to bring to bear upon the Eastern Coast: there was the public opinion of the whole civilized world. The main result which he and others believed would come from having a Consul on the Eastern Coast was, that light would be thrown on deeds of darkness, which would render the perpetual perpetration of them impossible. They had now no authorized channels through which to collect information. The slave-trade flourished there for the self-same reason that deeds of violence flourished where those deeds were sheltered from the observation of man. But if they were able to throw the light of civilized Europe upon the actions, not of the Portuguese Government, but of the agents of the Portuguese Government on the Eastern Coast of Africa, he maintained that connivance at the traffic, not by the Government of Portugal, but by the Government agents of Portugal, would be for once and for all prevented, and they would by a most trivial addition to the expenses of their Consular establishments, be striking one of the most fatal blows against the continuance of the oppressive traffic which the power of England had ever struck. It was upon this ground that he most earnestly desired to see Her Majesty's Government issue the necessary directions for the establishment of a Consular power on the Eastern Coast. He asked his noble friend to leave it in the hands of the Government. Many of those difficulties which were seen last year would now pass away. The conclusion of the treaty with the French Government, and the determination of the French Government to put a stop to the export of the so-called free labourers to Réunion, would tend greatly to facilitate the appointment of a Consul. The Consul would be able to check the Portuguese Governors, and those who, it was said, forced those Governors to connive at the slave-trade; and in that way the moral sense of the civilized world being brought to bear on the district, the Consular power there established without physical force would be more effectual than a whole squadron, without the Consular power, in checking the slave-trade. He held that it was impossible for Dr. Livingstone, or any other men who were there maintaining the great principles of humanity, to effect that which they desired to see effected, so long as under the seeming shadow of a Christian Power the abomination of the slave-trade was suffered to continue. They must by some means make the opportunity in which to sow the good seeds of

legitimate commerce. They could not supplant the slave-trade where once it had established itself by merely endeavouring to introduce legitimate commerce, because the returns of the slave-trade to the chieftains were more certain and more immediate, and, although destructive in the long run to their own prosperity, it gave on the instant that for which the chieftain craved; and they could not expect the chiefs, in their present state of civilization, to forego the more immediate for the more distant returns of honest trade. They must enforce a cessation of the slave-trade. The labours of Dr. Livingstone and others would plant the seeds of lawful commerce; and when those seeds had once sprung up, they need not fear a rise of the slave-trade again; but they must take steps to secure the opportunity. And he maintained that no measure could be more effectual for that purpose than a measure which would bring to bear on the underlings of the Portuguese Government the influence of our Government; and which, by enabling our Government to speak to facts, would enable them to bring the moral power of this country directly to bear on the whole of that seaboard. While urging his noble friend not to press his motion to a division, he hoped that the result of the motion would not be lost upon the Government; and that this step would be taken, when it could be taken, not as recommended by a hostile majority in that House, but by reason, argument, and by the convictions of the great mass of the educated and intelligent people of this great country.

Lord STRATHEDEN briefly replied, and expressed his willingness to accede to the suggestion of his noble friends, not to press his motion to a division.

The motion was then withdrawn.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Friday, July 26th.)

SLAVE-TRADE.

On the motion that the House resolve into Committee of Supply,

Mr. BUXTON rose to call the attention of the Government to the great increase of the slave-trade, and the importance of supplementing the exertions of the squadron on the African coast by additional measures for the suppression of that trade. He said it was no longer matter of question that Africa would afford a boundless amount of cotton if only the slave-trade could be put down, so as to enable agriculture and commerce to thrive. Even, therefore, if no higher motives came in, he should feel justified in reverting to this painful subject before the Session closed. The recent accounts of the slave-trade were terrible. Too ample proof was afforded by the Blue Books of the extraordinary activity with which the slave-trade was being pushed forward. This lamentable state of things might fill them with discouragement and almost with despair, but the legitimate inference would be that they should reconsider the system on which they were acting, and see whether some further measures could not be adopted which would render their exertions more effectual. The fact was, that since the American Government had



refused to acknowledge our right of visit our naval force had been rendered, he would not say useless, because he believed that fourteen slave ships had been captured during the past year, but far less potent than it used to be. He was anxious, therefore, to call the attention of the Government to two or three supplementary measures, which would, he thought, be of great value. One of these was suggested last year by Lord John Russell himself. This was, that an attempt should be made to supplant the slave-trade in Cuba by the introduction, under the most stringent precautions, of a free immigration from China and India. This would require the greatest possible care, and it might be thought that experience as to the abominable traffic in Chinese with Cuba ought at once to condemn the suggestion. But the truth was, that recently Her Majesty's Government had made great and, he believed, successful exertions to put a stop to the cruelty with which that Coolie immigration had formerly been attended. Our authorities in China, in conjunction with the Chinese authorities, had placed the emigration under strict regulations; and it also appeared that in Cuba the Chinese had asserted their independence, and had enforced considerate treatment for themselves. He trusted that the noble lord (Lord John Russell) would direct the British Commissioner at Havana to make strict inquiries on this point, and, if it could be shewn that humane treatment and fair wages could effectually be secured for Indian and Chinese emigrants, then, by encouraging such an immigration, we should supplant, not only the slave-trade, but in the long run Slavery itself, in the island of Cuba. Next he would urge on the Government, that, instead of trusting only to cruisers on the sea, they should take steps to break up the slave-trade on the African coast itself. He believed this would do even more than the squadron to harass and injure the slave-traders, and it could not bring England into collision with any European Government. Now, by the kind of protectorate which England had established along the Gold Coast, and at Accra, and at Lagos, the slave-trade had actually been extinguished along what formerly was its very mart and emporium, and which used, in fact, to be called the Slave Coast. But there was one exception. At Whydah, a port belonging to that execrable ruffian the King of Dahomey, the slave-trade was still most prosperous. By the last accounts several slavers with large cargoes had sailed from Whydah. He could not see why they should not use violent measures to put a stop to it at that point. No courtesy surely need be observed with the King of Dahomey. Well, then, going further south, Portugal possessed great dominions along both the west and east coasts of Africa. Her western coast was formerly rife with the slave-trade. When Mr. Gabriel, our commissioner at Loanda, first went there, he saw eighteen vessels in one harbour. Since that the slave-trade along the whole of the Portuguese West Coast had been utterly extinguished, and the result had been a great development of commerce, to the value, taking exports and imports together, of half a million

a year. How had that come about? In great measure owing to the fact that England had had consuls and commissioners on that coast who had brought the influence of England to bear on the Portuguese authorities. Meanwhile, however, on the East Coast no such improvement had taken place. The last Blue Book shewed an immense amount of slave-trade from Mozambique and the adjoining districts. Now, surely it would be only common sense for England to do her very utmost to induce Portugal to put the slave-trade down on the East as well as on the West Coast, and nothing in his opinion would do so much towards that end, as the appointment of an able and energetic man to the post of consul at Mozambique. It might be said that no able and energetic man would go there, but a gentleman who stood very high in the opinion of the Government was willing to take the post. There were, he owned, some objections. The climate was unhealthy; the place was detestable. There was also the expense. This, however, would be small, and nothing in proportion to the interests involved. Again, it had been urged that Dr. Livingstone had recently been appointed consul at Zambesi, but Zambesi was very far to the south, and Dr. Livingstone was always up the country exploring. The main objection, however, made by the Government was this, that a consul would be of no use without a large number of cruisers; but two or three ships of war were always kept on that coast. He thought there being few was an additional reason for giving them as much assistance and information as possible. Were the whole coast watched by cruisers it would be less necessary than now to have a consul on shore to find out all that was going forward, and the points from which it was likely that slaves would be embarked. The objections, then, were not strong ones. The inducements were very strong. The fact was, that the Portuguese Government was well disposed on this subject. It was fain to stop the slave-trade, but was too feeble to enforce its views on that far distant coast, where many of their own authorities had excellent reasons for cherishing the slave-trade. Nothing, then, would so much tend to enable the Government of Portugal to carry out their views as the fact that England had a commissioner there to watch all that went on, and report the proceedings of the slave-traders and the action taken by the local authorities. In fact, this would be the means of bringing the powerful influence of England to bear and of pouring light on those dark places of the earth, rendering it infinitely more difficult for these cruelties to go on there. A consul had originally been appointed at Mozambique, after full inquiry, by Mr. Hume's Committee in 1853, and experience seemed to him (Mr. Buxton) to have shewn the value of having such a representative of England on that coast, and in urging the re-appointment of a consul on the Government he was expressing the views entertained by Lord Brougham, by the Bishop of Oxford, the *Anti-Slavery Society*, the *African-Aid Society*, and, in fact, nearly every one acquainted with the question of the slave-trade. More than this, the same point had been strongly urged by the

Economist newspaper, and by others who looked on the matter from a mercantile point of view. There seemed real grounds for believing that English influences exerted on that coast might do much to suppress the slave-trade and open a large commerce. He was glad to think that the noble lord the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was sure to give the question a candid and careful study, as no man had shewn more persevering energy in promoting, as far as he possibly could, the abolition of the slave-trade.

Mr. CAVE wished this matter had been brought before the House at an earlier period of the Session, when they would have had the advantage of the presence of the noble lord, who was ever ready to devote attention to recommendations made to him in connection with the subject. Within the last few days the question appeared to have been advanced by the important letter of the Emperor of the French, announcing the ratification of a treaty with Her Majesty, making permanent, as far as he understood, the provisions of the Convention of last year, and abandoning African immigration in return for being allowed to compete with British colonists in the same labour-market. He must express a hope that, while Her Majesty's Government had been conceding so much to France, they had at the same time stipulated in return for some modification of the French law relative to the right of search. Much had been said of the conduct of Spain on the subject, but there could be no doubt she received hardly a single slave who was not borne under the flag of one or two great maritime nations. The flag of America, for instance, was deeply disgraced in connection with the question, nor was that of France wholly unstained, as was proved by a letter, making mention of the conveyance on board a French ship of 700 slaves, which he held in his hand.

Mr. BERKELEY corroborated, by reference to letters which he had received on the subject, the statement made as to the great increase of the slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa. He was also in a position to state that the Portuguese authorities were most anxious that there should be an English consul at Mozambique, in the hope that change for the better in that respect might be effected.

Sir J. PAKINGTON said it was a mistake to suppose the slave-trade had decreased on the coast of Mozambique. He had received a letter written by a naval officer from the coast of Africa, which stated that the trade was now flourishing there with the greatest vigour.

Mr. DODSON thought it would be well to defer creating any consular establishment on the East Coast of Africa until the report of Dr. Livingstone had been received. The presence of a consul at Mozambique was rendered the less necessary by the fact that the Governor-General of the district entertained the most honest intentions to suppress the slave-trade. The trade, moreover, was not carried on to such an extent at Mozambique as at other points of the East Coast of Africa. The Governor-General had not a sufficient force at his disposal to maintain his authority over the wide extent of coast placed under his charge, but he was most anxious to do

every thing in his power to put down the slave-trade. We did not want a consul to keep an eye on the Governor-General. If any thing was to be done at all, we must have five or six cruisers permanently stationed on the coast. But his own opinion was that Cuba was the point which ought to be watched. It was notorious that there was a joint-stock company in Havana for carrying on the slave-trade, and that slavers were fitted out in that and other ports, under the very nose of the authorities. The law and the church were always ready to connive at the importation of negroes, and the Governor-General, though he had the power, wanted the will to put a stop to the slave-trade. By stationing an efficient force of gunboats off the coast of Cuba we might to some extent check the importation of slaves, and it was also the duty of our Government to make the strongest representations to the Spanish Government, with the view of inducing them to put in execution existing treaties. He could not approve the re-appointment of a consul at Mozambique at the present moment; we should wait to see what were the results of Dr. Livingstone's expedition.

Mr. GREGORY was glad that the Emperor of the French had at last determined to put a stop to the slave-trade between Réunion and the coast of Africa. It appeared to him that the Emperor, having adopted that course, might be induced to join with us in taking more vigorous measures for the suppression of the slave-trade between the coast of Africa and Cuba. The disruption of the American Republic was another circumstance which gave him hopes that we might at length be able to aim an effective blow at the slave-trade. It was notorious that the real traffickers in the flesh and blood of their fellow-men were citizens of the Northern States. It was in Yankee ships, floated by Yankee capital, commanded by Yankee skippers, sailing forth on their abominable errand, with the connivance of bribed Yankee authorities, that the work of the devil was carried on. Lord Lyons, writing to Lord John Russell in September 1860, stated, that within the previous eighteen months eighty-five vessels had sailed from American ports to be employed in the slave-trade. The captures made by the American squadron itself off the African coast from September 1859 to October 1860 consisted of ten vessels, seven of which were from New York. Of forty-four slavers which arrived at a certain part of the African coast within a limited period, thirty-one were American vessels. It was not surprising, under these circumstances, that Lord John Russell should have written in strong terms of the prostitution of the American flag. The noble lord had conducted his correspondence with the American Government in a spirit which entitled him to the highest commendation from every person to whom humanity was dear. The reply of General Cass was couched in a style of flippant impertinence; but the rejoinder of the noble lord—that as long as it was clear that the American flag was prostituted to the purposes of the slave-trade—as long as the accursed traffic was mainly maintained by American citizens—he would not cease to remonstrate with

the American Government and people on the subject—was worthy of the Foreign Secretary of England. The United States were no longer hampered by what were called Southern prejudices. Now was the time to test the truth of all the statements they had made, and to see whether, when an appeal was made to the United-States authorities, we might not be able to obtain from them the same real hearty co-operation which would enable us eventually to put down this traffic. The difficulty hitherto experienced, as every one knew, was the almost impossibility of stopping, detaining, or visiting American vessels. Every proposal we had made to the United States with that view had been rejected. Joint cruising, and every other expedient we had suggested, had been invariably rejected. In former days, no doubt, these proposals on our part had been rejected, not from any inherent difficulty in the proposals themselves, but because there no doubt was a feeling in America that it would be against American interests, he might say, to attempt to employ vigorous means in the stopping of this trade. At one time it was perfectly notorious that the acquisition of Cuba was the question not of years but of months, in the opinion of the American people. That dream had now faded completely away. It was a great object to obtain Cuba well stocked with negroes. It was no longer an object that it should be so. On the contrary, if the slave-trade were not revived—and he would not enter into the question of the real *bona fides* of the Southern States upon that point; he simply believed they did not intend any thing of the kind; and if they did not when Louisiana had to contend against Cuba, it was the greatest object to Louisiana and the South that the importation of negroes into Cuba should not continue. He believed, therefore, they would have both the North and South of America perfectly concordant in their views to put down the slave-trade. He did most sincerely trust that Her Majesty's Government would now have to deal with a different set of statesmen at Washington, and that they would again appeal to them, in the cause of humanity, to join with England in vigorous action to put down this trade; for he was perfectly confident that it did rest with the hearty determination of the American authorities to prevent these vessels sailing from their ports, and, when they had sailed, to give every facility for their capture, so that they might eventually hope for the suppression of this detestable and atrocious traffic.

Mr. FORSTER thought the only objection that could be urged to the reappointment of a consul at Mozambique was the salary he must receive; but when he considered the success which had attended the presence of a consul on the West Coast, and the large sum we spent in cruisers, he was inclined to believe that small outlay might result in a great saving, so that the appointment might be justified on the mere grounds of economy. He agreed that this was a peculiarly fitting time when an effort should be made to obtain the co-operation of other countries in putting down the slave-trade, and we might especially hope for the co-operation of

the United States. Till recently, America had been the great supporter of the slave-trade. If disruption should unfortunately take place, he should look forward with great fear to the revival of the slave-trade. Upon this point he might mention the fact that Mr. Gancey, the leading commissioner to Europe of the so-called Southern Confederacy, himself proposed, a year or two ago, in the Southern Convention at Montgomery, a resolution for the repeal of the law of the United States against the slave-trade, and for months supported this resolution with great energy and ability. He differed from his hon. friend who introduced this subject as to the propriety of our sending coolies into Cuba. He did not see how we could take on ourselves the responsibility of their proper treatment under a foreign Government.

Mr. HOPE believed the only effectual check to Slavery would be to make it unprofitable. This was to be accomplished by rendering the production of sugar by free-labour cheaper than by slave-labour. His remedy, therefore, was a simple one, though it might not find favour in that House—to put on slave-grown sugar a differential duty, to be applied to the purposes of immigration into our own colonies. The noble lord at the head of the Government had attacked the Spanish Government, the chief delinquent in respect to the slave-trade, vigorously with pen and ink. His exertions would, however, be more effectual for their object if backed by the imposition of a differential duty against the slave-grown produce of the Spanish colonies.

Mr. KINNAIRD thought the tone of that discussion proved that there was not the least diminution in the deep feeling of hostility entertained in this country against the abominable traffic in slaves. He trusted that some of the observations made by the hon. member for Galway would have their due effect upon Her Majesty's Government. It was an indisputable fact that the capital and ships of the Northern States of America had been largely employed in this traffic, and our Commissary Judge at the Havana (Mr. Crawford) said:

"Since the year 1858, when there was such outcry about our cruisers in these waters boarding American ships, the traffic has been almost exclusively carried on by vessels under that flag, which fit out and sail from the United States; and such has been the effect of the impunity enjoyed by the slave-traders, that the American masters and crews no longer hesitate to continue on board, and have brought all their energies and cunning into operation to avoid their own Government cruisers, as well on the coast of Africa as in the waters of Cuba, from the last-mentioned of which all Her Majesty's vessels of war have been withdrawn for the last two years."

Our cruisers had been withdrawn from the Cuban waters, because the American Government refused to co-operate with them in suppressing this nefarious traffic; and the American cruisers, being left to execute that task alone, had entirely failed in its performance. He earnestly entreated the noble lord not to imagine that the restoration of the consul at

Mozambique was not to be desired. The slave-trade was carried on there to a considerable extent, and but for our cruisers it would be greatly increased. Dr. Livingstone was particularly anxious that there should be a consul at Mozambique. The trifling expense which such an officer would entail on the country would be amply repaid by the legitimate trade it would occasion, for there was a great demand there for our cloth and hardware. He looked with extreme jealousy on the plan for importing Coolie labourers from India into the French colonies, and he hoped that the recent treaty on the subject would be laid on the table without delay.

Lord PALMERSTON.—I am bound to say that I think the House and the country are under obligations to my hon. friend who brought forward this motion, because this is a subject of the deepest interest; and it is impossible that this House can too often or too strongly express its opinions in condemnation of the continuance of this abominable traffic. The truth is that the abolition of the slave-trade, although it may be, and, in some instances, has been brought about, as in the case of Brazil, by the exercise of force, cannot be wholly extinguished except by the progress of opinion, not only in the minds of different Governments, but in the minds of the different nations which they rule. I regret to say that of late years there has been a relapse on the part of our neighbours on the other side of the channel. France very early abolished Slavery in her colonies; and we had reason to hope that, the French nation and Government, being thoroughly convinced that Slavery and the slave-trade were abominations, and having determined to get rid of both, there was no danger whatever of their backsliding. But the first symptom of a relapse was seen when the French Government, under M. Guizot, refused to ratify the convention for the mutual right of search which was negotiated by Lord Aberdeen, its refusal being grounded on some motion made in the French Assembly. That was, no doubt, an indication of a retrograde movement in opinion. Then came, four or five years ago, the Regis contract for the emigration of so-called free labourers into a French colony, but which was nothing more nor less than the slave-trade in its purest and simplest form, at least as far as the acquisition of the labourers was concerned. It was the slave-trade in the beginning of the process, though not entirely so in its end, because when these unhappy creatures were landed in a French colony they were apprenticed against their will, subjected to regulations which rendered them liable to degrading punishments, and otherwise made to feel that they were in a state far from one of freedom, although the French law did not acknowledge the system of Slavery. The manner in which these negroes were caught was exactly the same as that in which the Spanish and the Portuguese got their slaves in order to send them to Cuba. It was said, indeed, that they were ransomed, and were to be set free, and documents were given to them which professed to be certificates of their emancipation. But they were obtained

in the first instance by persons who sold them to the French by all those means of force, of violence, and fraud, by which slaves were and still are procured for the Spanish market at Cuba. This, unfortunately, was the result of the ascendancy gained in French councils by the colonial interest. That ascendancy was paramount; and for a long time the French Government was deaf to all the remonstrances made to them by the Government of England, pointing out that this was the slave-trade, and contrary to every principle by which they had openly promulgated their resolution to abide. At last the French Government put an end to that system, provided other means could be obtained by which the additional supply of labour required in the French colonies could be procured. The only means by which we could at all assist in procuring labour was by allowing the French to obtain coolies from our possessions in India; and the question was, whether we would give them that permission on condition that the Regis contract should be put a stop to. I should say, that two years ago the French Government, upon the urgent representations of the Queen's Government, did put down the exportation of the so-called free-labourers at the Western Coast of Africa, but it still continued on the East Coast. There were great objections, such as those referred to in the course of this discussion, to our allowing these French colonists to go to our territories in India for the purpose of obtaining coolies. No doubt, it was liable to this objection—that improper means might be resorted to for, as it is called, kidnapping the coolies; and therefore it was necessary to establish regulations by which you should be sure that those labourers who went did so of their own goodwill, that they should not be overcrowded or otherwise ill-treated during the voyage, and that they should be well used when they reached the island of Réunion or the French West Indies. These matters were the subject of long and difficult negotiations, because we had to contend with the peculiar interests of those who thought it better and cheaper to go on with the existing plan. The Emperor's advisers felt that the system was a bad one, and were anxious to co-operate with us to put an end to it. Accordingly, a treaty has been recently concluded by which, under certain regulations, the French colonists are entitled to bring coolies from India into the French colonies. It has been said that we give every thing and get nothing. That is not exactly the case. It is quite true it permits the exportation from India to take place at once, while the French Government does not engage to stop the Regis contract until 1862—a period to which they are bound to allow that contract to continue in force. We might have said, "We will not allow you to get coolies while you are carrying out this contract." That point was considered, and it was decided, rightly as I believe, not to act upon that view. We felt that they would not get a less number of negroes if we refused them coolies; but that, on the contrary, it was probable, if we allowed them to have coolies immediately, they would find them better labourers, more subordinate,

the American Government and people on the subject—was worthy of the Foreign Secretary of England. The United States were no longer hampered by what were called Southern prejudices. Now was the time to test the truth of all the statements they had made, and to see whether, when an appeal was made to the United-States authorities, we might not be able to obtain from them the same real hearty co-operation which would enable us eventually to put down this traffic. The difficulty hitherto experienced, as every one knew, was the almost impossibility of stopping, detaining, or visiting American vessels. Every proposal we had made to the United States with that view had been rejected. Joint cruising, and every other expedient we had suggested, had been invariably rejected. In former days, no doubt, these proposals on our part had been rejected, not from any inherent difficulty in the proposals themselves, but because there no doubt was a feeling in America that it would be against American interests, he might say, to attempt to employ vigorous means in the stopping of this trade. At one time it was perfectly notorious that the acquisition of Cuba was the question not of years but of months, in the opinion of the American people. That dream had now faded completely away. It was a great object to obtain Cuba well stocked with negroes. It was no longer an object that it should be so. On the contrary, if the slave-trade were not revived—and he would not enter into the question of the real *bona fides* of the Southern States upon that point; he simply believed they did not intend any thing of the kind; and if they did not when Louisiana had to contend against Cuba, it was the greatest object to Louisiana and the South that the importation of negroes into Cuba should not continue. He believed, therefore, they would have both the North and South of America perfectly concordant in their views to put down the slave-trade. He did most sincerely trust that Her Majesty's Government would now have to deal with a different set of statesmen at Washington, and that they would again appeal to them, in the cause of humanity, to join with England in vigorous action to put down this trade; for he was perfectly confident that it did rest with the hearty determination of the American authorities to prevent these vessels sailing from their ports, and, when they had sailed, to give every facility for their capture, so that they might eventually hope for the suppression of this detestable and atrocious traffic.

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Lord PALMERSTON.—I am bound to say that I think the House and the country are under obligations to my hon. friend who brought forward this motion, because this is a subject of the deepest interest; and it is impossible that this House can too often or too strongly express its opinions in condemnation of the continuance of this abominable traffic. The truth is that the abolition of the slave-trade, although it may be, and, in some instances, has been brought about, as in the case of Brazil, by the exercise of force, cannot be wholly extinguished except by the progress of opinion, not only in the minds of different Governments, but in the minds of the different nations which they rule. I regret to say that of late years there has been a relapse on the part of our neighbours on the other side of the channel. France very early abolished Slavery in her colonies; and we had reason to hope that, the French nation and Government, being thoroughly convinced that Slavery and the slave-trade were abominations, and having determined to get rid of both, there was no danger whatever of their backsliding. But the first symptom of a relapse was seen when the French Government, under M. Guizot, refused to ratify the convention for the mutual right of search which was negotiated by Lord Aberdeen, its refusal being grounded on some motion made in the French Assembly. That was, no doubt, an indication of a retrograde movement in opinion. Then came, four or five years ago, the Regis contract for the emigration of so-called free labourers into a French colony, but which was nothing more nor less than the slave-trade in its purest and simplest form, at least as far as the acquisition of the labourers was concerned. It was the slave-trade in the beginning of the process, though not entirely so in its end, because when these unhappy creatures were landed in a French colony they were apprenticed against their will, subjected to regulations which rendered them liable to degrading punishments, and otherwise made to feel that they were in a state far from one of freedom, although the French law did not acknowledge the system of Slavery. The manner in which these negroes were caught was exactly the same as that in which the Spanish and the Portuguese got their slaves in order to send them to Cuba. It was said, indeed, that they were ransomed, and were to be set free, and documents were given to them which professed to be certificates of their emancipation. But they were obtained

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the American Government and people on the subject—was worthy of the Foreign Secretary of England. The United States were no longer hampered by what were called Southern prejudices. Now was the time to test the truth of all the statements they had made, and to see whether, when an appeal was made to the United-States authorities, we might not be able to obtain from them the same real hearty co-operation which would enable us eventually to put down this traffic. The difficulty hitherto experienced, as every one knew, was the almost impossibility of stopping, detaining, or visiting American vessels. Every proposal we had made to the United States with that view had been rejected. Joint cruising, and every other expedient we had suggested, had been invariably rejected. In former days, no doubt, these proposals on our part had been rejected, not from any inherent difficulty in the proposals themselves, but because there no doubt was a feeling in America that it would be against American interests, he might say, to attempt to employ vigorous means in the stopping of this trade. At one time it was perfectly notorious that the acquisition of Cuba was the question not of years but of months, in the opinion of the American people. That dream had now faded completely away. It was a great object to obtain Cuba well stocked with negroes. It was no longer an object that it should be so. On the contrary, if the slave-trade were not revived—and he would not enter into the question of the real *bona fides* of the Southern States upon that point; he simply believed they did not intend any thing of the kind; and if they did not when Louisiana had to contend against Cuba, it was the greatest object to Louisiana and the South that the importation of negroes into Cuba should not continue. He believed, therefore, they would have both the North and South of America perfectly concordant in their views to put down the slave-trade. He did most sincerely trust that Her Majesty's Government would now have to deal with a different set of statesmen at Washington, and that they would again appeal to them, in the cause of humanity, to join with England in vigorous action to put down this trade; for he was perfectly confident that it did rest with the hearty determination of the American authorities to prevent these vessels sailing from their ports, and, when they had sailed, to give every facility for their capture, so that they might eventually hope for the suppression of this detestable and atrocious traffic.

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and cheaper, than negroes; and in proportion as they obtained coolies, so they would obtain fewer negroes; and therefore our object being to put an end to the abominations of the African trade, I think we were right in opening the supply of coolies at once to the French colonists. I am not sure whether that convention has been ratified, but when it is it will, of course, be laid on the table of the House. There is no doubt that the crime of slave-trade does exist still, and to a great extent; but, omitting for the moment all question of the Regis contract, it is chiefly confined to the supply of Cuba. Now, how is that carried out, and how have we been prevented from putting an end to it? It arises from the corruption of all the authorities in Cuba, and the apathy of the Spanish Government at Madrid. We have remonstrated: we have sent proofs that the slave-trade is enormously carried on—that Captains-General go out poor and return rich. We were met by assurances that the orders sent out would be better observed, and that there was every disposition on the part of the Spanish Government to fulfil their treaty engagements. Of course we are obliged to take the answer, especially when it admits the treaty obligations, and declares the intention of the Spanish Government to observe them. Then, in Cuba, when our consul sends proofs to the Captain-General that a cargo of slaves has been landed at such a time and place, and calls upon him to punish the offenders, the Captain-General says he will make inquiries, and, after a certain time, he reports that he has made inquiries, and is unable to trace any proof that a landing has been effected; and when he is requested to search certain plantations to which it is suspected the slaves have been removed, he replies that he has not the power to do so conferred upon him by the Home Government. So, we have Cuba setting up Madrid, and Madrid setting up Cuba against us. That is a disgraceful thing for a country like Spain, and I believe that at last they feel it to be so, as they have lately sent additional ships to watch the coast of Cuba, in fulfilment of their treaty obligations. It is quite true that the importation of slaves into Cuba does not take place in Spanish ships, but in ships sailing under other flags, and especially under the American flag. There are some little Portuguese shipments from the East Coast of Africa, but it is mainly carried on under the American flag. Lately there has been some little amount of slave-trade carried on under the French flag, but not to any great extent. We have been constantly remonstrating with the American Government against that prostitution of their flag. In one piece of correspondence I told them that a piece of bunting ought not to be a national passport. They took offence at that, and said I had insulted their flag. It was not the expression that nettled them, but the reproach that their flag was prostituted to base purposes. We tried to persuade them to grant a mutual right of search, but we were unsuccessful. We tried other plans, and at last we proposed to Mr. Buchanan that English and American cruisers should sail in company, and when any ship under the American flag should

be taken with slaves on board, she should be prize to the American cruiser, and treated according to the American law; but when a ship was taken without a flag, or papers with slaves on board she should be prize to the British cruiser, and be subject to our law. That proposal seemed too well calculated to accomplish its purpose to be accepted by the American Government, and accordingly it was declined. The hon. member for Galway says that now that the North and South are at variance is the time to get the assistance of the North against the South. It is quite true, that at the time of the disruption of the Union—if we may assume it to have taken place—or before this civil contest broke out, it was the influence of the South which prevailed at Washington, and prevented the Government there from accepting any of the offers we made for the purpose of enlisting the support of the United-States' Government in the execution of their treaty engagements. There is a treaty engagement by which they are bound to co-operate with us for the suppression of the slave-trade. For a time they sent one or two small vessels to the coast of Africa, and lately they have increased the number. But this I have observed, that when an American cruiser is commanded by a captain from the South, no effective assistance whatever is given us for the suppression of the slave-trade. The Southern captain shuts his eyes to what is going on, and runs off to Madeira for supplies or water; but the cruisers commanded by captains from the North do give us very effective and vigilant co-operation. That would lead to the hope, no doubt, that if the turn of events should give to the North a more sovereign existence, possibly the spirit of the North would prevail over the influence which hitherto has controlled them; and, although most of the cruisers were fitted out at New York and at Boston, and, perhaps, with capital from the North, yet it was the spirit of the South which animated these expeditions. With a view to the suppression of this crime we have urged upon the Government of Portugal to exert its authority more effectually upon the eastern coast of Africa; but, as has been truly observed, the Portuguese possessions on the eastern coast are of enormous extent, thinly populated, and the ports are separated by immense distances, while the authorities there are far removed from the observation of the Government at Lisbon, with every opportunity for yielding to corruption and bribery; and therefore it is very difficult for the Lisbon Government to control what goes on there. I am informed by our Minister at that Court that the Government is doing all in its power to put an end to the evil. Whatever may be said of the Government of Spain, I have no doubt of the sincerity of that of Portugal in exerting all the means in its power to accomplish this purpose. I do not even despair of seeing the Portuguese Government adopt some measures for prospective emancipation. Portugal has no interest in the slave-trade, but quite the reverse. Her possessions lie in Africa—they want all the labour for cultivation and improvement that the population will afford, and every man sent away is a man withdrawn from

the development of the natural resources of the country. Spain is in a different position. Her colonies import labour from other places, and, in their narrow and erroneous view, every slave imported is so much gain. The hon. gentleman opposite wants us to revert to a differential duty between slave-grown and free-grown sugar. That question has been frequently discussed, and Parliament has made up its mind that such a plan is not desirable, as evasion would be easy, and, if applied to sugar, the principle must be extended to slave-grown cotton, tobacco, and other articles. As to the particular point of establishing a consul at Mozambique, I am inclined to agree that it would have little reference to the slave-trade. Mozambique is an unhealthy station, and there would be a difficulty in inducing a consul to go, and in insuring his continued residence. Our consul has been withdrawn from Mozambique, but at the same time the expediency of his return is a fair subject for consideration, and I can assure the House that my noble friend (Lord John Russell), who is as eager and as anxious as any man can be to put an end to this abominable crime, will give to this and every other method of putting a stop to it the fullest consideration. My noble friend and myself, and every member of the Government, are most anxious to complete the work—I will say the noble work—in which this country has been engaged for so many years. Cuba is now the only plague-spot in the world, for I do not believe that there is any real importation of slaves into the Southern States of America. Cuba, I repeat, is the only real plague-spot, and I hope that, by some means or other, we may be able, if not entirely to put an end, at least greatly to check, and ultimately to put an end to, the abominable practice of the slave-trade.

AMERICAN ITEM.

TERROR AT THE SOUTH.—A lady who lately arrived at Washington from South Carolina, although young, has grown grey during the last six months, in consequence of the constant terror in which she had lived. She says that all the men have been obliged to leave their homes and plantations for the military service, and the women and children have been left nearly defenceless. She had herself learned to shoot with gun and pistol, for the sake of self-defence, although formerly dreading the mere sight of fire-arms. The negroes show a most discontented disposition, and when ordered to do work, do it with sullen, reluctant manner, and with scowling looks that alarm those around them. There had been seven attempted insurrections of negroes in her vicinity, and there were constant apprehensions of a more formidable one that could not be suppressed without terrible scenes. The accounts she gives of the scarcity, the high prices, and the universal alarm and suffering, are terrible.—*Phil. Bulletin.*

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1861.

MASSACRE AT PORTO NOVO.

SOME few years ago, one James Brooke—subsequently knighted by the Queen—gained a most unenviable notoriety by his murderous proceedings in Borneo, against certain natives who refused to submit to his rule, and whom he therefore stigmatized as pirates, and massacred by the hundred, with the assistance of Her Majesty's ships of war. He was not a singular instance of the presumption of British officials in their dealings with uncivilized tribes, and it is now known that the Indian rebellion had its origin in the hatred engendered by the systematic injustice and the arrogance of the ruling race towards the original owners of the soil. A permanent feature in our colonial history is our disregard of principles which, if violated in our intercourse with what are called civilized powers, would inevitably involve us in hostilities. It is equally a well-established fact, that we have ourselves first set the example of duplicity to the rude nations with whom we have been brought into contact, and when they have acted towards us as people who mistrusted us, we have turned upon them and accused them of being the aggressors, and unworthy of confidence. The history of our conquest of India, of our acquisition of New Zealand, of the Cape Colony, are notable illustrations of this deplorable truth, and if we turn to West Africa, we shall find that our relations with the kings and chiefs of that country have been characterized by the same disregard of the prejudices, the customs, the habits of the people, as of the commonest rules of justice. It is as if the colour of a man's skin were made the test of his capability of appreciating the difference between courtesy and discourtesy; between what is right, and what is wrong. Never does it appear to enter the mind of British officials that a negro king or chief may have notions of what is due to his rank, quite as distinct and well-defined, and as arbitrary of observance, as the punctilious etiquette of civilized courts requires at the hands of those who frequent them. Yet the contemptuous disregard of the rules laid down by native custom, as indispensable to be observed when negotiations are going on with negro potentates, is never taken into account when news reach this country of a quarrel on the coast, ending in loss of life and destruction of property, and consequently in permanent ill-feeling towards us on the part of those we profess to be desirous of protecting and civilizing. A re-

markable illustration of this state of things is presented by the account which has reached this country of the attack made by the late Mr. Consul Foote upon Porto Novo. The *West-African* papers give, of course, only one side of the story; but, even according to their own shewing, the whole affair deserves but one appellation, namely, of being a sanguinary and wanton massacre, for an offence by no means clearly proved, but which, if committed, has been visited by a punishment of the most awful kind, and one not to be justified by any amount of provocation.

The following is from the *West-African Herald*:

"It has already been recorded in this journal, four months ago, that the late Mr. Foote, Her Majesty's consul at Lagos, went up to Porto Novo in the gunboat *Brune*, for the purpose of negotiating with the king of that place. The king having refused to accede to the terms of the treaty, and treating the consul's message with contempt, Mr. Foote caused a shot to be fired over the town. This having produced no effect, some shots were fired into the town, and the *Brune* left the place. The Porto Novians, much elated at the departure of the *Brune*, congratulated themselves, and declared that if the vessel came again they would have her up on the beach, and convert her into a war canoe for the king. On the 26th of April last the consul went up with a considerable force to recommence hostilities. Commodore Edmondstone commanded in person. The force consisted of Her Majesty's ships *Bloodhound*, *Brune*, and the *Fideliter*. The *Bloodhound* could not get further up the lagoon than Beechy, so that the *Brune* and *Fideliter* had it all to do themselves. They were assisted by 10 boats. The Porto Novians mustered in large force on the banks of the lagoon.

"The following is from the native journal, *Iwe Irohin*, published at Abbeokuta: 'The expedition consisted of the *Brune* and *Fideliter*. Each of these had attached to it a number of boats—10 it is stated. Four of these were armed with 24 and 12-pounder howitzers, the remaining six were rocket-boats. The expedition reached the barrier above Badagry at 4 p.m. on the afternoon of Thursday, and, after two hours' hard work pulling and hauling, the sailors effected a narrow passage, which was forced by the *Fideliter*. She was immediately followed by the *Brune*, and thus, in the space of two hours and a half, was overcome what it had taken the Porto Novians six weeks and more to prepare. Some Iso canoes made a miserable attempt to save their reputation by firing a few shots, but a rocket or two from the long 52 of the *Brune* sent them flying up the river at their best pace. Next morning, at 7 A.M., the flotilla had reached Porto Novo, and, as soon as they came in sight of the town, a heavy musketry fire was opened upon them from both sides of the river, which however, was not replied to by the English for some little time. When once the boats opened fire with rockets, shell, and shot, it was vigorous and well directed, so much so, that within an

hour the town was in flames, which gradually increased until they rose high above the lofty trees that hitherto afforded the inhabitants grateful shade. The Iso canoes again took to flight, and remained through the day far out of gunshot, and watched the game of war in tolerable security. The boats of the squadron were in two divisions, one under the Commodore, the second under Captain Raby, of Her Majesty's ship *Alecto*. Finding the town burning furiously in their rear, the defenders of this den of infamy ran for the beach, and advantage was taken of this by Captain Raby, V.C., who was in his gig with two men, to land and spike a gun, not, however, without being severely wounded by the explosion of the gun during the act of spiking. Seeing that the natives had not plucked up courage to cut off this party, permission was given to about fifty marines and blue jackets to land, in order to set on fire some well-built houses that had hitherto withstood the rockets and flames. The landing was effected without molestation, and a new quarter of the town was hereby set fire to. It appears that the warriors had not up to this time retreated from the town, for Captain A. T. Jones, 2d West-India Regiment encountered one standing in a doorway, whom he shot with his revolver, and met a second, whom he was about also to despatch, when his revolver missed fire, and had the native rushed at him he must have cut him down before he could draw his sword; but, deeming prudence the better part of valour, he took to his heels and hid himself. The town now being in this quarter thoroughly fired, at half-past eleven the troops re-embarked, and returned to their ships and dined. At one o'clock, being refreshed, and a fresh supply of ammunition served out, the boats of Captain Raby's division formed in line abreast, and advanced within fifteen yards of the reeds, from whence the natives still kept up a brisk fire from a point rather lower than where the gunboats had anchored, and where it was subsequently discovered they had an ambuscade. From this point it was found difficult to dislodge them, until rockets and round shot found out their weak point and sent them flying in all directions. Great havoc was committed in their retreating ranks by the grape and canister of the boats, as well as the well-directed shots of the marines. The opportunity was now seized upon by Captains Raby and Jones to land and spike a second gun, and carry off their last flag. It was now seen how great had been the havoc inflicted upon the enemy, by whose own account they admit their loss to be 1000 killed and as many wounded. After this the firing became very weak and desultory, so the English amused themselves by firing shot and shell at the principal houses left standing. About four p.m. the gunboats and flotilla steamed away for Lagos, and rejoined the squadron outside the bar. The vessels composing it have since steamed off in various directions. The loss on the side of the English was only one man killed and five slightly wounded."

According to the foregoing statements, Mr. Foote's object in proceeding to Porto Novo was to negotiate a treaty with the

king. We are told the king refused to accede to its terms, and that Mr. Foote fired into the town and quitted it, only, however, to return and inflict summary vengeance for an imaginary grievance. There is, however, another side to the story, and we cannot do better than give it in the words of Mr. A. W. Hanson, late British Consul at Monrovia and for the Sherbro country, who, at the recent Slave-trade Conference at Lord Brougham's, was induced to rise and explain the real facts of the case. He said :

" Consul Foote had unquestionably been applied to by some of the traders, who alleged that their interests were prejudiced by the preference the King of Porto Novo gave to the Portuguese. But what was the first thing he did on reaching Porto Novo? Forgetting that if he had any right or authority at all in the country it was by virtue of his being Her Majesty's consul, accredited to the chief or king, he sent a message to the King of Porto Novo to come to him. The king declined, saying that it was Mr. Foote's place to go to him, and that he would respectfully consider whatever proposition the consul might submit. The consul, however, would not comply with what the custom of the country and the rank of the king pointed out as the only proper course, and intimated to the king's messenger, that unless the king were on board the ship at a given hour the town should be fired into. At the time mentioned a signal gun was fired, to warn the king of the expiration of the delay. The natives misunderstood it as an act of hostility, and their retaliation—not their aggression—for this insult, as they conceived it to be, was to fire in return upon the ship. He appealed to Mr. Chinery if these were not the facts of the case. He maintained that if only a small measure of respect had been shewn to the King of Porto Novo, Consul Foote would have been enabled to adjust the difference with the chief without any trouble at all; nay, he (Mr. Hanson) would risk his head that the difficulty might have been solved satisfactorily in ten minutes."

In the House of Commons Lord John Russell boldly justified the course of Consul Foote, and again, on a subsequent occasion, when the deputation from the Slave-trade Conference waited upon him. Surely the Right Hon. Secretary for Foreign Affairs could not have been in possession of the facts, or he would have refrained from justifying so wanton a sacrifice of human life, and so large an amount of property. Under any circumstances, the case is one which should not be permitted to drop, and we may hope to see the *Aborigines' Protection Society* take it up. Although what has passed cannot be undone, means may be suggested for avoiding a similar catastrophe in future.

THE WAR IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE war in the United States is rapidly assuming gigantic proportions. Should it be protracted, the results will be most disastrous.

It is upon a scale commensurate with the evil out of which it has sprung, and which it must crush, or the country will be involved in yet greater calamities than have befallen any nation in modern times. In order to carry on this fratricidal struggle, 60,000,000*l.* sterling have been voted up to the present time; the President is empowered to call 1,000,000 into the field, and there does not appear to be any disposition, on the part of the Legislature, to refuse further supplies, upon any scale that may be deemed necessary, to bring the war to a close. That this must be accomplished, at any sacrifice, appears to be the unanimous conviction of the party, which, for the sake of distinction, we shall call the Constitutionals, including in this category all those who support the President and his policy, whether in the North or the South. But who shall say how long the struggle will last? and if many years, what will be the position of the States: what that of the people? One consequence must be an enormous debt, bequeathed to coming generations; another, an enduring legacy of heart-burning and animosity. Thus is it, that the huge wickedness, Slavery, has entailed upon those who have fostered it, a retribution which seems to have fallen with the suddenness of a divine chastisement.

From the midst, however, of the darkness that overshadows the land, a ray of light has gleamed, which gives promise of a brighter day. The conviction, heretofore felt but not avowed, that unless Slavery is abolished, peace cannot be permanent, even though it may be for a time restored by a compromise, is finding expression in various quarters and through various channels, which indicate the tendency of public opinion towards a decisive point. The Abolitionist party now declares, that as Slavery has caused war between the North and the South, the emancipation of the slaves must be decreed, in order that the North shall no longer stultify itself "by pledges to maintain intact the diabolical compromises with Slavery which have brought the nation to the verge of ruin, exposing it alike to the scorn of men and the retributive judgments of God." This is encouraging enough; but the same issue has been raised in the Senate, and although, up to the latest advices, no action had been taken, it is the opinion of competent judges, that the next Congress—which meets in December—will have the whole question forced upon it as one demanding a speedy solution. On the 16th July, the Hon. C. Sumner presented a petition for the abolition of Slavery in the Southern States, remunerating such owners of slaves as may be impoverished thereby, out of the United-States' treasury. On the previous day he had presented another petition, ask-

ing Congress to remove the cause of the war by abolishing Slavery. On the 16th, Mr. Pomeroy, of Kansas, submitted a Bill to the Senate, proposing that Slavery be immediately abolished by proclamation, as a great military necessity, in all those States of the Union which are in open and armed resistance to the Government. Now these are, at present, merely political straws thrown up to catch the wind, but they are healthy signs, and the forerunners of more serious work. This is as it should be, and it cannot be too soon or too extensively known throughout the United States, that although, in this country, the war is deeply deplored, yet the North will gain the entire sympathies of the people of England only when it shall be declared that it has for its one purpose and aim the liberation of the slaves.

We believe it to be impossible to stave off, for any lengthened period, the consideration of the one all-absorbing question, what shall be done with the slaves? Already it has forced itself upon the notice of the military men commanding the Federal forces in the rebellious States, or in those adjacent, in consequence of the flight into their camps of fugitives seeking their liberty. It has been ruled that they cannot be returned into Slavery, and the difficulty is now arising how to dispose of the numbers who are escaping. Mr. Pomeroy's Bill proposed that officers should be ordered to give protection to all slaves that might ask it, and accept the services of those who might tender the same in behalf of the Government. Then, again, the Hon. C. Sumner has introduced Bills, now under consideration, for the confiscation of property in the rebel States. Now, are slaves exempted from the action of these Bills? If they are, and regarded by them as "property," they must be set free, because slaves have no existence in the Free States; and thus the first serious blow is being dealt at the institution, by one who, in his own person, has suffered more than any other man for vindicating the right of the negro to his freedom.

As for the "great cotton question," we must allow that to settle itself. For years before this outbreak in the United States, the attention of the people of this country in general, and of our manufacturers in particular, had been called to the impending catastrophe, and other fields of supply had been indicated. The late John Cropper of Liverpool, and the late Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, were most strenuous in their advocacy of India, with its illimitable supply of free-labour, as capable of furnishing all the raw cotton our mills could consume; and on every opportune occasion the latter did not fail to dwell upon the retribution he expressed it as his conviction would fall upon the nation which rested its prosperity

upon the supply of a commodity raised by the labour of slaves. If ruin should overtake our manufacturers, in consequence of a failure of the American cotton crops this year or next, they will have but themselves to blame. It may, however, be hoped that their eyes have not only been opened to the iniquity of participation in the guilt of Slavery, but that the present crisis has awakened their self-interest to the necessity of activity, in taking advantage of other sources of cotton supply, so that our country may be spared the miseries which a stoppage of our mills must entail.

The recent defeat of the Constitutionalists at Manassa, junction, though very much less disastrous than was at first announced, has only served to inflame and embitter the quarrel, and we venture to predict, that should one or more disasters of a similar kind befall them, prior to the great forward movement which General Scott is contemplating, or should this movement itself be unsuccessful, we do not see how emancipation can be delayed, for it will be the only measure the Government will have at command to bring the war to a close. Probably it has staid its hand, up to the present moment, only from a fear of incurring blame for precipitancy. It cannot be imagined that President Lincoln and his advisers are not alive to the exigencies of the hour, but they may be presumed to be awaiting the pressure of events. These move with such rapidity, that any mail may bring tidings of a decisive measure: then will come the end, of which all that has happened up to the present time is but the beginning.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S MESSAGE,

(Concluded from p. 178.)

SECESSIONISTS' ARGUMENTS ANSWERED.

A RIGHT result at this time will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant, and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal sanction, and the hand of the Executive to give it practical shape and efficiency. One of the greatest perplexities of the Government is to avoid receiving troops faster than it can provide for them: in a word, the people will save their Government, if the Government itself will do its part only indifferently well. It might seem at first thought to be of little difference whether the present movement at the South be called secession or rebellion; the movers, however, well understand the difference. At the beginning, they knew they could never raise their treason to any respectable magnitude by any name which implies violation of law; they knew the people possessed as much of moral sense, as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in its reverence for the history and Government of

their common country, as any other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement directly in the teeth of these strong and noble sentiments. Accordingly, they commenced by an insidious debauching of the public mind; they invented an ingenious sophism, which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps through all the incidents of the complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is, that any State of the Union may, consistently with the nation's constitution, and therefore lawfully and peacefully, withdraw from the Union, without the consent of the Union or of any other State.

The little disguise that the supposed right is to be exercised only for a just cause, themselves to be the sole judges of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice with rebellion. Thus sugar-coated they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, and until at length they have brought many good men to a willingness to take up arms against the Government the day after some assemblage of men have enacted the farcical pretence of taking the State out of the Union, who could have been brought to no such thing the day before.

This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole of its currency, from the assumption that there is some omnipotent and sacred supremacy pertaining to a State—to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution, no one of them having been a State out of the Union. The original ones passed into the Union even before they cast off their British Colonial dependence; and the new ones came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas; and even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated as a State. The new cases only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted for the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence. Therein the United Colonies were declared to be free and independent States. But even then, the object plainly was, not to declare their independence of one another of the Union, but directly the contrary; as their mutual pledge, and their mutual action before, at the time, and afterwards, abundantly shew. The express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen States in the articles of confederation two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual, is most conclusive. Having never been States either in substance or in name outside of the Union, whence this magical omnipotence of State rights, asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the sovereignty of the States; but the word, even, is not in the National Constitution, nor, as is believed, in any of the State Constitutions. What is a sovereignty in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it a political community without a political superior? Tested by this, no one of our States, except Texas, was a sovereignty; and even Texas gave up the character on coming into the Union, by which act she acknowledged the Constitution of the United States, and the

laws and treaties of the United States made in pursuance of the Constitution, to be for her the supreme law. The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other local status. If they break from this, they can only do so against law and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty, by conquest or purchase. The Union gave each of them whatever of independence and liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States; and, in fact, it created them as States. Originally, some dependent colonies made the Union; and, in turn, the Union threw off their old dependence for them, and made them States, such as they now are. Not one of them ever had a State Constitution independent of the Union. Of course it is not forgotten that all the new States formed their constitutions before they entered the Union; nevertheless, dependent upon, and preparatory to, coming into the Union. Unquestionably the States have the power and rights reserved to them in and by the national Constitution. But among these surely are not included all conceivable powers, however mischievous or destructive, but, at most, such only as were known in the world as governmental powers; and certainly a power to destroy the Government itself had never been known as a governmental power. This relative matter of national power and State rights, as a principle, is no other than the principle of generality and locality. Whatever concerns the whole should be confined to the whole general Government, while whatever concerns the State should be left exclusively to the State. This is all there is of original principle about it, whether the national Constitution, in defining boundaries between the two, has applied the principle with exact accuracy, is not to be questioned. We are all bound by that defining without question. What is now combated is the position, that secession is consistent with the Constitution—is lawful, and peaceful. It is not contended that there is any express law for it; and nothing should ever be implied as law which leads to unjust or absurd consequences. The nation purchased with money the countries out of which several of these States were formed: is it just that they shall go off without leave, and without refunding? The nation paid very large sums—in the aggregate, I believe, nearly a hundred millions—to relieve Florida of the aboriginal tribes: is it just that she shall now be off without consent, or without any return? The nation is now in debt for money applied to the benefit of these so-called seceding States, in common with the rest: is it just either that creditors shall go unpaid, or the remaining States pay the whole? A part of the present national debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas: is it just that she shall leave, and pay no part of this herself? Again, if one State may secede, so may another; and when all shall have seceded, none is left to pay the debts. Is this quite just to creditors? Did we notify them of this sage view of ours when we borrowed their money? If we now recognise this doctrine, by allowing the seceders to go in peace, it is difficult to see what we can do if others choose to go, or to extort terms upon

which they will promise to remain. The seceders insist that our Constitution admits of secession; they have assumed to make a national Constitution of their own, in which of necessity they have either discarded or retained the right of secession, as they insist it exists in ours. If they have discarded it, they thereby admit that, on principle, it ought not to exist in ours. If they have retained it, by their own construction of ours they shew that, to be consistent, they must secede from one another whenever they shall find it the easiest way of settling their debts, or effecting any other selfish or unjust object. The principle itself is one of disintegration, and upon which no Government can possibly endure. If all States save one should assert the power to drive that one out of the Union, it is presumed the whole class of seceded politicians would at once deny the power, and denounce the act as the greatest outrage upon State rights. But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called driving the one out, should be called the seceding of the others from that one, it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do; unless, indeed, they make the point that the one, because it is a minority, may rightfully do what the others, because they are a majority, may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtle and profound in the rights of minorities. They are not partial to that power which made the Constitution, and speaks from the preamble, calling itself "We the people." It may well be questioned whether there is to-day a majority of the legally-qualified voters of any State—except, perhaps, South Carolina—in favour of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in the many, if not in every other one, of the so-called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them. It is ventured to affirm this even of Virginia and Tennessee, for the result of an election had in military camps, where their bayonets are all on one side of the question voted upon, can scarcely be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment. At such an election, all that large class who are at once for the Union and against coercion, would be coerced to vote against the Union.

PATRIOTISM OF THE PEOPLE.

It may be affirmed, without extravagance, that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the powers and improved the condition of our whole people, beyond any example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and impressive illustration. So large an army as the Government has now on foot was never before known, without a soldier in it but who has taken his place there of his own free choice. But, more than this, there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the whole world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress, and perhaps a Court, abundantly competent to administer the Government itself. Nor do I say this is not true also in the army of our

late friends, now adversaries in this contest. But it is so much better the reason why the Government which has conferred such benefits on them and us, should not be broken up. Whoever in any section proposes to abandon such a Government, would do well to consider in deference to what principle it is that he does it, what better he is likely to get in its stead, whether the substitute will give, or be intended to give, so much of good to the people. There are some foreshadowings on this subject.

Our adversaries have adopted some declarations of independence, in which, unlike the good old one penned by Jefferson, they omit the words, "all men are created equal." Why? They have adopted a temporary National Constitution, in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one signed by Washington, they omit "we, the people," and substitute "we, the deputies of the sovereign and independent States." Why? Why this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men and the authority of the people? This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered share and a fair chance in the race of life; yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity. This is the leading object of the Government for whose existence we contend.

I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this. It is worthy of note, that while in this the Government's hour of trial, large numbers of those in the army and navy who have been favoured with high offices have resigned, and proved false to the hand which pampered them, not one common soldier or common sailor is known to have deserted his flag. Great honour is due to those officers who remained true despite the example of their treacherous associates; but the greatest honour, and the most important fact of all, is the unanimous firmness of the common soldiers and common sailors. To the last man, so far as known, they have successfully resisted the traitorous efforts of those whose commands but an hour before they obeyed as absolute law. This is the patriotic instinct of plain people. They understand without an argument that the destroying the Government which was made by Washington means no good to them. Our popular Government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have settled—the successful establishing, and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry out an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets—that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace, teaching men that what they cannot take by an election

neither can they take it by a war—teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war.

Lest there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the Government towards the Southern States after the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the Executive deems it proper to say it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws, and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relatively to the rights of the States and the people under the Constitution, than that expressed in the inaugural address. He desires to preserve the Government, that it may be administered for all as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of their Government, and the Government has no right to withhold or neglect it. It is not perceived that in giving it there is any coercion, any conquest, or any subjugation in any just sense of these forms. The Constitution provided and all the States have accepted the provision, that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government. But, if a State may lawfully go out of Union, having done so, it may also discard the republican form of Government; so that, to prevent its going out is an indispensable means to the end of maintaining the guarantee mentioned, and when an end is lawful and obligatory, the indispensable means to it are also lawful and obligatory.

It is with the deepest regret that the Executive found the duty of employing the war power in defence of the Government forced upon him. He could but perform this duty, or surrender the existence of the Government. No compromise by public servants could in this case be a cure—not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular Government can long survive a marked precedent—that those who carry an election can only save the Government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election. The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decision.

As a private citizen, the Executive could not have consented that these institutions shall perish; much less could he act in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as these free people had confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, nor even to count the chances of his own life in what might follow.

In full view of his great responsibility, he has so far done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your own judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views and your actions may so accord with his as to assure all faithful citizens who have been disturbed in their rights, of a certain and speedy restoration to them, under the Constitution and the laws. And having thus chosen our cause, without guile, and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts.

July 4, 1861.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

W. S. BAILEY ON THE AMERICAN CONFLICT.

W. S. BAILEY, editor and proprietor of the *Kentuck Free South*, on whose behalf we have inserted more than one appeal in our columns, and who was recently in England, writes as follows to his friends in Newcastle:

"I arrived in New York from England on the 21st of May, and reached home on Friday, the 24th. Court sat in Alexandria on Monday, 27th May, and my mob-persecutors were surprised to see me upon the ground. They expected my bond of 1000 dollars to be forfeited, on account of my absence, and to have things all their own way. But this malicious suit, based upon an unconstitutional law of March 3, 1860, is not so popular as the despotic spirit that conceived it had hoped for. The prosecuting party wished to continue their 'incendiary' suit against me until the next term (fourth Monday in November 1861), which was agreed to by my attorney, they agreeing to reduce my bond from 1000 dollars to 500 dollars.

"If Secession triumphs, I shall yet suffer at the hands of my persecutors; but if the friends of the Union prevail, I shall find rest from the harrassing torment I have so long endured.

"Kentucky, through her pro-Slavery officials, has taken a most cowardly and ungallant position in the hour of our country's struggle. Her indifference at this moment is deplorable. She has entrenched herself behind the general Government to shield her from harm—accepts the Government mails and its protection to her trade and commerce, and, at the same time, refuses to aid the Government, and smiles at the treachery of its foe. Secessionists here are trying to ingratiate themselves into the good feelings of the Union militia, so as to become captains, colonels, majors, &c., of the companies; and some of the most deadly enemies of the Union are now holding such offices, under pretence of being 'lovers of liberty,' and 'friends of the Union.' Kentucky is doing a greater injury to the country in her present position than she could do in open hostility against it. In war, the traitors would have to shew their hands; but a deceptive oligarchy at the head of our companies will not only absorb the means of those who enlist, but will lead our men into the ranks of Secession or into mystical channels of defeat. This 'armed neutrality of Kentucky' is a trick of the Secessionists to delude the friends of freedom. The traitors know that the mass of the people of Kentucky are opposed to Secession, and that they would be powerless if their heart sentiments were known to them; hence they profess to be friends of the people, and go in for 'armed neutrality,' saying 'it is the only and best policy for Kentucky.'

"Knowing that they cannot get the industrious producers of the State to turn against the Government and unite with rebellion, they get them to raise companies of 'Home Guards,' their 'armed neutrality' (armed deception to the Government), that the peoples' money may be squandered at a time when business is prostrated and little to do, and that, in consequence, they

may become an easy prey to deceptive leaders that hurrah for 'armed neutrality.'

"The true glory of Kentucky would have been to come forward manfully and patriotically with men and money in defence of the Government; and, at the same time, held a convention, and laid a foundation for the emancipation of her slaves and the freedom of the State. Such a position would have been a great honour to Kentucky, and placed her statesmen before the world as disinterested vindicators of the great principle of self-government, cut short the war, and won the respect of the South, the North, and the civilized world.

"I started to Washington, D.C., on Friday morning, June 28, and got there on Saturday evening. Every town on the road through the Free States was alive with soldiers mustering for the war, and Washington was full, eager for the conflict. I went to try to get an order for my protection to the commanding officer of the United-States barracks at this place, in case I should be again attacked, leaving friends with my family to guard them against assault from wicked ones in my absence. I did not get the order, as I hoped to do, but merely the promise of protection in case any was needed. The Government does not wish to assume any control over the State authorities in Kentucky, until she takes the aggressive position of the seceded States, which is now daily and hourly looked for by the Union men.

"I was in Washington on the great battle-day (Sunday, 21st July), and could hear the cannon at Bull's Run, in Virginia, where the great slaughter was going on. The people were greatly excited in the afternoon, until a late hour, and thousands in Washington, besides the soldiers, were up all night. The most exaggerated accounts have been published on both sides; perhaps, on the one hand, to encourage each his contending party, and, on the other, an honest but widely-incorrect statement of the real facts. I believe it almost impossible at this time to get at the real number killed and wounded at that battle; but I think to say 3500 to 4000, on each side, of killed and wounded, would come not far from correct.

"I left Washington for home on the 23d July evening, at which time the Union soldiers were most bitter against the Secessionists, and urgent for a renewal of the conflict. Troops were pouring into Washington from all quarters, and on the road coming home I never saw greater excitement and vehemence, all pressing on to battle. Trains bedecked with flags for miles in length were filled with soldiers speeding their way onwards to the field of battle, with an enthusiasm beyond any thing I ever saw. The stars and stripes were floating from house and hamlet,—coach, train, and steamer, and the blessings of God invoked by thousands on behalf of the soldiers, as the cars moved from the stations onward. The thoughts of our free form of government being destroyed by a slaveholding oligarchy moves both man and woman to the rescue, determined on liberty or death.

"The intelligent poor of the South go for Union for the sake of freedom, hoping that Slavery will die at the close of the war, leaving us a free

and a happy country. But the rich, who go for Union, with few exceptions, do it with the impression that slavery will be more secure in the Union than in a new confederacy. Again, those who expect to be at the head of this desired new nationality go for secession, Slavery or no Slavery, as their hope is to live upon a Southern public crib at the expense of the toiling masses; and the illiteracy of this toiling multitude prevents thousands of them from knowing that they are fighting to enslave themselves.

"My oldest unmarried son has enlisted for the war, and is expected to be in the next engagement in Virginia. He is a good boy; and, believing himself in the right, will meet danger with firmness, and trust in God for the victory. He went with the Cincinnati Dragoons.

"These are terrible times. I have had great trouble with our friends in getting them to stay in Kentucky, but have, by untiring efforts, done much to retain the Free States' men upon our soil. I should have written to you and other friends long ago, but have been kept busy hour by hour in going to see frightened friends who were about leaving the State under cover of 'protection to their families;' but I tell them they should also protect their property. To run off and leave their substance, and let their families die of starvation, would be as bad as to die while defending it, and far more cowardly. Besides, to leave their property, would put strength into the hands of the enemy, and encourage them to pursue them.

"Since the late battle, Secessionists have been leaving the State with their families, and this gives courage to the Free States (new Union) men, and encourages our hope for the safety and final freedom of Kentucky. . . . The war is a great calamity, and in our place, fear, sorrow, and want are in almost every house, and sometimes fear moves many to ungovernable weakness. It is astonishing, and yet sorrowful, to see it so. But I am glad to tell you that many have been brought over to the Union side of this controversy, by kindness shewn to them by my family and friends in their perilous forebodings. More persons have been brought to prayer and earnest supplication to Almighty God by this calamity than the most foresighted could have predicted, and many have frankly admitted the great sin of Slavery who before encouraged its perpetuity. God be praised for this. . . . If I could start my paper now, I could do a great deal for the South, and promote the cause of freedom. The South would thank a Southern man who would dare to make a friendly appeal for the abolition of a 'system' that sets brother against brother, and drenches the land with blood.

• "Free South Printing Office, Newport, Kentucky, August 1, 1861.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE report of the proceedings at the recent conference on the present condition of the trans-atlantic slave-trade, will have placed our readers in possession of the latest official information upon this subject. The evidence shews, 1st, that the traffic is carried on ex-

clusively to Cuba; 2dly, that its chief focus is on the West-African coast, south of the Line, and that no inconsiderable number of slaves are exported from the Portuguese possessions on the East Coast; and 3dly, that the traffic is prosecuted chiefly under the American flag. The present struggle in America has not been without its influence on this wicked commerce, as may be judged of from the subjoined extract from a recent Number of the *New-York Journal of Commerce*.

"Every thing connected with commercial pursuits is now in an abnormal condition, and that class of adventurers who take large risks in the slave-trade for the sake of still larger gains, are as much disconcerted as any other class. One cause of embarrassment is the fall in the price of sugars within the last few months, which is necessarily attended by a corresponding depreciation in sugar estates in Cuba, and their negro appurtenances. The sum ordinarily realized for good negroes, landed in Cuba, averages not far from 750 dollars per man; but we are told that nothing like this amount can be obtained now. Secession is another cause tending to the same result; and the effect of the whole is to diminish very much the motive for fitting out illegitimate traders for the African coast, notwithstanding so many American cruisers are temporarily called off from their stations to blockade Southern ports, and to watch privateers.

"No doubt United-States' Marshal Murray, who succeeds Captain Rynders at this port, has exerted himself commendably to break up the slave-trade, but the apparent success realized is in no small degree attributable to the causes above mentioned. Five or six vessels and some sixty men are in custody of the Government authorities at this port, charged with complicity in this business, yet we are assured that vessels are fitting out all the time, here and in eastern ports, for slave voyages, and that, though the trade is very sensibly checked, it is by no means suppressed. There is reason to believe that, had it not been for the extraordinary events of the last few months, disconcerting all former calculations, the illicit traffic with the African coast would have assumed a bolder and more formidable character than ever before. It will be remembered that the steamship, *City of Norfolk*, made a very successful venture, landing a large cargo without impediment, after which she was burnt, it is supposed. According to report, other steamers were fitting out for similar objects, but the firing upon Fort Sumter and the political disturbances which followed, caused a hasty abandonment of all these projects. Steamcruisers had been substituted for sailing vessels to such an extent, in the African squadron, and on the Cuban coast, that slave-traders contemplated a resort to steam, in self defence.

"New-York city is accused of having participated largely in the slave-trade for a number of years past, and there is no question but a considerable number of persons residing here have derived large gains from this odious business. Baltimore, however, takes the lead, for there it is easy to buy old legitimate trading vessels, well known on the coast, and therefore unsuspected, and whose

papers give a clear record. Through this cunning artifice the legal trade has been subject to injurious reflections, often giving occasion to serious embarrassment and loss.

"One important fact has been proved by the disastrous influences lately felt by commerce, which is, that legitimate trade with Africa can be maintained independently of domestic consumption, if protected from the competition of slavers, for these two interests cannot prosper in common. The trade in hides has suffered; but palm-oil is less affected, because it is received chiefly for export. Since the surrender of Fort Sumter the large amount of 2,200,000 pounds of oil has been shipped to Europe, and sold at a fair profit, and 200,000 pounds are awaiting shipment. Thus it appears, that even under present disadvantages, the American trader can compete with European merchants; and if there was a direct steam line to Africa, with a branch on the West Coast, it is more than probable that this trade would acquire large importance, and check the slave-trade so effectually as to supersede the necessity of maintaining an expensive squadron in those parts."

THE U. S. WAR IN ITS RELATION TO SLAVERY.

THE Hon. Joshua R. Giddings has sent a letter to the *New-York Tribune*, treating of the war now raging in the United States, in its relation to Slavery. It will well repay perusal, and will add to the reader's stock of anti-slavery information. It will be seen that the question treated of is of great importance, and involves the position of fugitive slaves seeking the protection of the Constitutionalists. We therefore commend it as worthy of attentive perusal.

To the Editor of the New-York Tribune.

"SIR,—Our country is opening up a new page in the history of Governments. The world has never witnessed such a spontaneous uprising of any people in support of free institutions as that now exhibited by the citizens of our Northern States.

"I observe that the vexed question of Slavery still has to be met, both in the Cabinet and in the field. It has been met by former Presidents, by former Cabinets, and by former military officers. They have established a train of precedents that may be well followed at this day. I write now for the purpose of inviting attention to those principles of international law which are regarded by publicists and jurists as proper guides in the exercise of that despotic and almost unlimited authority called the 'war power.' A synopsis of these doctrines was given by Major-General Gaines, at New Orleans, in 1838.

"General Jessup had captured many fugitive slaves and Indians in Florida, and had ordered them to be sent west of the Mississippi. At New Orleans they were claimed by the owners, under legal process; but General Gaines, commanding that military district, refused to deliver them to the sheriff, and appeared in court, stating his own defence.

"He declared that these people (men, women,

and children), were captured in war, and held as prisoners of war. That as commander of that military department or district, he held them subject only to the order of the National Executive: that he could recognise no other power in time of war, or by the laws of war, as authorized to take prisoners from his possession.

"He asserted that, in time of war, all slaves were belligerents as much as their masters. The slave men, said he, cultivate the earth and supply provisions. The women cook the food, nurse the wounded and sick, and contribute to the maintenance of the war, often more than the same number of males. The slave children equally contribute whatever they are able to the support of the war. Indeed, he well supported General Butler's declaration, that slaves are contraband of war.

"The military officer, said he, can enter into no judicial examination of the claim of one man to the bone and muscle of another as property. Nor could he, as a military officer, know what the laws of Florida were while engaged in maintaining the Federal Government by force of arms. In such case, he could only be guided by the laws of war; and whatever may be the laws of any State, they must yield to the safety of the Federal Government. This defence of General Gaines may be found in House Document No. 225 of the second session of the twenty-fifth Congress. He sent the slaves West, where they became free.

"Louis, the slave of a man named Pacheco, betrayed Major Dade's battalion in 1836, and when he had witnessed their massacre, he joined the enemy. Two years subsequently he was captured. Pacheco claimed him: General Jessup said if he had time he would try him before a court-martial and hang him, but would not deliver him to any man. He however sent him West, and the fugitive slave became a free man, and is now fighting the Texans. General Jessup reported his action to the War-Department, and Mr. Van Buren, then President, with his Cabinet, approved it. Pacheco then appealed to Congress, asking that body to pay him for the loss of his slave; and Mr. Greeley will recollect, that he and myself, and a majority of the House of Representatives, voted against the Bill, which was rejected. All concurred in the opinion that General Jessup did right in emancipating the slave, instead of returning him to his master.

"In 1838, General Taylor captured a number of negroes said to be fugitive slaves. Citizens of Florida learning what had been done, immediately gathered around his camp, intending to secure the slaves who had escaped from them. General Taylor told them that he had no prisoners but 'prisoners of war.' The claimants then desired to look at them in order to determine whether he was holding their slaves as prisoners. The veteran warrior replied that no man should examine his prisoners for such a purpose; and he ordered them to depart. This action being reported to the War-Department, was approved by the Executive. The slaves, however, were sent West, and set free.

"In 1836, General Jessup wanted guides and men to act as spies. He therefore engaged several fugitive slaves to act as such, agreeing to secure the freedom of themselves and families if they

served the Government faithfully. They agreed to do so, fulfilled their agreement, were sent West, and set free. Mr. Van Buren's administration approved the contract, and Mr. Tyler's administration approved the manner in which General Jessup fulfilled it by setting the slaves free.

"In December 1814, General Jackson impressed a large number of slaves at and near New Orleans, and kept them at work erecting defences, behind which his troops won such glory on the 8th of January 1815. The masters remonstrated. Jackson disregarded their remonstrances, and kept the slaves at work until many of them were killed by the enemy's shots; yet his action was approved by Mr. Madison and Cabinet, and by Congress, which has ever refused to pay the masters for their losses.

"But in all these cases, the masters were professedly friends of the Government; and yet our Presidents and Cabinets and Generals have not hesitated to emancipate their slaves whenever in time of war it was supposed to be for the interest of the country to do so. This was done in the exercise of the 'war power' to which Mr. Adams referred in Congress, and for which he had the most abundant authority. But I think no records of this nation, nor of any other nation, will shew an instance in which a fugitive slave has been sent back to a master who was in rebellion against the very Government who held his slave as captive.

"From these precedents I deduce the following doctrines:

"1. That slaves belonging to an enemy are now, and have ever been, regarded as belligerents; may be lawfully captured and set free, sent out of the State, or otherwise disposed of at the will of the Executive.

"2. That as slaves enable an enemy to continue and carry on the war now waged against our Government, it becomes the duty of all officers and loyal citizens to use every proper means to induce the slaves to leave their masters, and cease lending aid and comfort to the rebels.

"3. That in all cases it becomes the duty of the Executive, and of all Executive officers and loyal citizens, to aid, assist, and encourage those slaves who have escaped from rebel masters to continue their flight, and maintain their liberty.

"4. That to send back a fugitive slave to a rebel master, would be lending aid and assistance to the rebellion. That those who arrest and send back such fugitives identify themselves with the enemies of our Government, and should be indicted as traitors.

"J. R. GIDDINGS.

"Montreal, June 6, 1861."

MR. POMEROY'S BILL.

WE referred in our Summary to a Bill introduced into the United-States' Senate, on the 16th July, by Mr. Pomeroy, of Kansas, for the suppression of the slaveholders' rebellion. It is altogether too remarkable a document not to be recorded. We therefore reproduce a copy of it:

A BILL TO SUPPRESS THE SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION.

"Whereas, by Art. 1., Sec. 8, of the Constitution of the United States, Congress has power

'to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States,' 'to raise and support armies,' 'to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces,' 'to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union,' 'to suppress insurrection and repel invasion, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers;' and

"Whereas, The creation of the Union by the people of the original thirteen States was a mutual pledge of both people and States to a republican form of government, guaranteed to *each* by the united force of all; and

"Whereas, In securing this end, if to repel the encroachments of despotic institutions from without be the well-settled policy of this American Government, much more is it essential to its *self preservation* that in 'providing for the general welfare' the united Government should crush from the soil of the Union every germ of despotism that threatens its liberties; and

"Whereas, Slavery in this Republic has culminated in a formidable rebellion, which threatens the liberties of the whole nation; and

"Whereas, The rise of the slave-power within its limits proves how utterly incompatible with republican institutions is every form of despotism; and

"Whereas, The great question before this nation, which it is called upon to settle now, and settle for ever, once for all, and for which the loyal people and States of this country are pouring out their blood, and lavishing their treasure, is, whether *Slavery* shall die and American freedom shall live;

"Therefore, By virtue of the Constitution, as herein set forth, and as a great *military necessity* forced upon us by the rebellion,

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled, That, from and after the passage of this Act, there shall be no Slavery or involuntary servitude in any of the States of this Union that claim to have seceded from the Government, and are in open and armed resistance to the execution of the laws and the provisions of the Constitution of the United States; and

"Be it further enacted, That, immediately upon the passage of this Act, the President of the United States shall cause his proclamation to be issued, setting forth the immediate and unconditional emancipation of all persons held as slaves in any of the aforesaid States, under the laws thereof; and also ordering all officers to give protection to all such emancipated slaves as shall ask it, and accept the services of all who may tender them in behalf of the Government, if in the judgment of such officers such services shall be useful or necessary to the prosecution of this war."

EXTRADITION OF FUGITIVES FROM CANADA.

WE place upon record the text of the Act recently submitted to the Canadian Legislature, under the protection of which the fugitives from Slavery, such as John Anderson, will in future be placed, in the event of their being claimed as offenders under the Washington or Ashburton Treaty. While

we entertain no doubt that the jurisdiction of the Court of Queen's Bench in England could be asserted in Canada, we consider any collision of authority would be most undesirable, and admit that the Canadians do well to watch jealously any attempted interference with the independence of their Courts. The Act now re-printed ingeniously removes the ground for interference in any future case, similar to John Anderson's, by the provision specially relating to fugitives; and thus the great constitutional question, as to the concurrent jurisdiction of the English and the Canadian Courts is left open.

BILL.

An Act to amend chapter 89 of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada, respecting the Treaty between Her Majesty and the United States of America, for the apprehension and surrender of offenders.

WHEREAS doubts have been expressed as to the true intent and meaning of the Act, respecting the treaty between Her Majesty and the United States of America, for the apprehension and surrender of fugitive offenders, and it is expedient to remove such doubts and amend the said Act in other respects;

Be it enacted as follows:—

1. Section 1 of the said Act (being chapter 89 of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada) is hereby repealed, and the following substituted therefor:

"Upon complaint, made under oath or affirmation, charging any person, found within the limits of this province, with having committed within the jurisdiction of the United States of America, any of the crimes enumerated in the said treaty, any of the judges of Her Majesty's superior courts in this province, or any judge of a county court in Upper Canada, or any judge of the superior court in Lower Canada, or any recorder of any city, or any commissioner appointed by any of the said superior courts, (which courts are hereby authorised to appoint commissioners, who shall severally have all the powers of a county or a superior court judge, for the purposes of this Act,) may issue his warrant for the apprehension of the person so charged, that he may be brought before such judge, recorder, or commissioner, to the end that the evidence of criminality may be heard and considered, and if, on such hearing, the evidence be such as he would deem sufficient to sustain the charge of murder, or assault with intent to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged paper, as the case may be, according to the laws of this province, if the alleged criminal act or acts had occurred or been committed within this province, he shall certify the same, together with a full and true copy of all the testimony taken before him to the governor, that a warrant may issue upon the requisition of the proper authorities of the said United States, for the surrender of such person according to the stipulations of the said treaty, and the said judge, recorder, or commissioner, shall issue his warrant for the commitment of the person so charged to the proper gaol, there to remain until such surrender be made, or such person be discharged according to law."

2. And be it further enacted, that any of the judges of Her Majesty's superior courts (including the judges of the Court of Chancery) may entertain the application mentioned in the fourth section of the said Act, as well before as after the expiration of two months from the period of commitment of the person making the application, and may review the decision of the committing judge, recorder, or commissioner, and, not concurring therein, may order the person so committed to be discharged from custody.

3. And for the more speedy and better execution of the said treaty, be it enacted, That any judge, recorder, or commissioner, before whom any complaint has been made pursuant to the said treaty, and in terms of the said recited Act, as amended by this Act, shall, upon such evidence as according to the laws of this province would justify the apprehension of the person so accused, if the alleged criminal act or acts had been committed in this province, issue his warrant for the apprehension of such person, in the form annexed to this Act, or to the like effect, and such warrant may be executed in any part of this province, and shall have the same force and effect throughout the province, as if the same had been originally issued or subsequently endorsed by a judge or other person having jurisdiction in the place where the same shall be executed, and may be lawfully executed anywhere within this province, by the constable or constables to whom the same shall be directed, or who shall be appointed to execute the same, who shall severally have all the powers and privileges for the execution of such warrant, as any constable duly appointed hath or may have within his constableness.

4 Every person who shall be apprehended under any such warrant shall be brought with all convenient speed before the judge, recorder, or commissioner, by whom such warrant shall have been issued, or some other judge, recorder, or commissioner, who may cause the warrant of committal of such person to be drawn up according to the form given in the schedule annexed to this Act, or to the like effect, which shall be good and sufficient in law to warrant the persons to whom the same shall be directed, to detain such person in custody as directed in the said warrant until delivered or discharged according to law.

5. If upon the hearing of any case under the said recited Act as amended by this Act, it shall appear that the person apprehended was held in Slavery, or was making his escape therefrom, when the offence with which he is charged was committed, the judge, recorder, or commissioner before whom such person is brought, shall make diligent inquiry into all the facts and circumstances attending the commission of the alleged offence, with the view of ascertaining whether the same was committed in self-defence, or in the effort to escape from Slavery, and shall make a special report of the said facts and circumstances to the governor.

SCHEDULE TO WHICH THIS ACT REFERS.

Warrant of Apprehension.

COUNTY OF _____ } To all and each of the
TO WIT: } constables of the

Whereas a complaint on oath (or affirmation) hath been duly made before me, pursuant to the Acts for giving effect to the treaty made between Her Majesty and the United States of America, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, for the apprehension of certain offenders, charging A. B., late of _____ with having committed the crime of [here specify the offence] within the jurisdiction of the United States of America.

This is therefore to command you, in Her Majesty's name, forthwith to apprehend the said A. B., pursuant to an Act passed in the _____ year of Her Majesty, intituled [here insert the title of this Act], wherever he may be found in this province, and bring him before me, or some other judge, recorder, or commissioner, authorised to hear complaints under the said Act, to answer unto the said charge, for which this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand and seal, at _____, in the county (or city) of _____, being judge of the county court, for the said county, (or recorder of the city of _____, or a commissioner appointed pursuant to the said Act, as the case may be, this _____ day of _____ in the year of our Lord _____.

J. P. (L. S.)

Warrant of Committal.

COUNTY OF _____ } To A. B., one of the con-
TO WIT: } stables of the _____
_____ } and to the keeper
_____ } of the gaol at _____.

Be it remembered, that on the _____ day of _____, in the year of our Lord _____, A. B., late of _____, is brought before me, J. P., judge of the county court of the county of _____, (or recorder, or commissioner, as the case may be), and is charged before me for that, he, the said A. B., on the _____ day of _____ at _____, within the jurisdiction of the United States of America, did [here state the offence], and for as much as it hath been shewn to me upon such evidence as by law is sufficient to justify the committal to gaol of the said A. B., pursuant to Act passed in the _____ year of the reign of Queen Victoria, intituled _____, as amended by an Act passed in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Queen Victoria, intituled [here insert the title of this Act], that the said A. B. is guilty of the said offence:

This is therefore to command you, the said constable, in Her Majesty's name, forthwith to convey and deliver the body of the said A. B. into the custody of the said keeper of the gaol at _____, and you the said keeper to receive said A. B. into your custody into the said gaol, and him there safely keep until he shall be thence delivered pursuant to the provisions of the said Acts, for which this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand and seal, at _____, the county of (or city of) _____, this _____ day of _____, in the year of our Lord _____.

J. P. (L. S.)